

HERODOTUS

BOOK II

COMMENTARY 99-182

ÉTUDES PRÉLIMINAIRES AUX RELIGIONS ORIENTALES DANS L'EMPIRE ROMAIN

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M. J. VERMASEREN†

M. E. C. VERMASEREN-VAN HAAREN ET MARGREET B. DE BOER

TOME QUARANTE-TROISIÈME

ALAN B. LLOYD

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FOREWORD

THE second part of this work appeared some ten years ago, and a foreword to the present and final section seems not inapposite, if only to acknowledge the great debt which I owe to various institutions, colleagues, and friends.

First, I should like to express my gratitude to the British Academy, the Marc Fitch Fund, and the University College of Swansea for generous grants towards the cost of publication. Without their timely assistance this volume could not have been published. Amongst my colleagues it is a particular pleasure to recognize the help of Dr M.A. Leahy, Dr D. Jones, and Professor J. Gwyn Griffiths who all read the typescript at various stages and saved me from much foolishness. A great deal doubtless remains, and for this the author is entirely to blame. Dr Jones also did sterling service as my research assistant in producing the final version, and the Hon. J.M. Greenfield rendered invaluable aid both with proof-reading and in the production of the index. Without him the pace of production would have been considerably slower. I should also like to thank those who assisted me in printing the text at the Oxford University Computing Service, in particular Dr Ruth Glynn and Stephen and Alison Cope. Their advice and expertise are largely responsible for the high quality of the final printed product. I must also express my gratitude to Mr M.G. Farrington of the Department of Mathematics and Computer Science, University College of Swansea, for his advice on the use of lasercomp technology.

Finally, I must discharge the sad duty of acknowledging the unstinting encouragement and assistance given to me in writing my *Herodotus II* over a period of almost twenty years by my late wife Caroline. She was not destined to see the publication of the final volume, but, if there is any merit or achievement in this work, it is, in large measure, hers.

University College of Swansea
May 28th 1986

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

The Thinite Period¹		
Dynasty I		c.3100–2890 B.C.
Dynasty II		c.2890–2686 B.C.
The Old Kingdom²		
Dynasty III		c.2686–2613 B.C.
Dynasty IV		c.2613–2494 B.C.
Dynasty V		c.2494–2345 B.C.
Dynasty VI		c.2345–2181 B.C.
The First Intermediate Period		
Dynasties VII–mid XI		c.2181–2040 B.C.
The Middle Kingdom³		
Dynasty XI ⁴		c.2040–1991 B.C.
Dynasty XII		c.1991–1786 B.C.
The Second Intermediate Period		
Dynasties XIII–XVII		c.1786–1570 B.C.
The New Kingdom⁵		
Dynasty XVIII		c.1570–1320 B.C.
Dynasty XIX		c.1320–1200 B.C.
Dynasty XX		c.1200–1069 B.C. ⁶
The Third Intermediate Period⁷		
Dynasty XXI		c.1069–945 B.C.
Dynasty XXII (Libyan)		c.945–715 B.C.
Dynasty XXIII		c.818–715 B.C. ⁸
Dynasty XXIV		c.727–715 B.C. ⁹
Dynasty XXV		c.728–656 B.C. ¹⁰

1. Also called the Archaic, Proto-Dynastic or Early Dynastic Period. Dates after the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Third Edition, I, 2, Cambridge, 1971 (*CAH*³).

2. Abbreviated O.K. throughout this volume. Dates after *CAH*³ I, 2.

3. Abbreviated M.K. Dates after *CAH*³ I, 2.

4. From the reunification of Egypt under Nebhepetrē Montuhotpe II.

5. Abbreviated N.K. Dates after *CAH*³ II, 1–2, Cambridge, 1973–5.

6. For the purposes of this table the complexities of the end of the XXth Dynasty and the “Renaissance Era” are ignored.

7. Dates after K. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, Warminster, 1973.

8. c. 818 Egypt was divided between the rulers of the XXIInd and XXIIIrd Dynasties and ruled contemporaneously by both (Kitchen, op. cit., p. 334 ff.).

9. A short-lived virtually independent kingdom based on the Western Delta (Kitchen, op. cit., p. 363 ff.).

10. This dynasty never achieved complete control over the country and overlapped with XXIVth and XXVth Dynasties as well as the Assyrian hegemony (Kitchen, op. cit., p. 363 ff.).

The Late Period¹¹

Dynasty XXVI (Saite)	664–525 B.C.
Dynasty XXVII (Persian)	525–404 B.C.
Dynasty XXVIII (Saite)	404–400/399 B.C.
Dynasty XXIX (Mendesian)	c.399/8–379 B.C.
Dynasty XXX (Sebennyte)	c.379–342/1 B.C.
Dynasty XXXI (Persian)	341/0–332 B.C.
Hellenistic Period	332–30 B.C.
Roman and Byzantine Period	30 B.C.–A.D. 641

11. Abbreviated L.P. Dates after Alan B. Lloyd, "The Late Period", in B. Trigger *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt: a Social History*, Cambridge, 1983, p. 281.

COMMENTARY

99–182. The history of Egypt. This falls into two sections: the rulers from Min to Sethos (II, 99–142) and those from the Dodecarchs to Amasis (II, 147–82). This division, explicitly recognized by H. himself, is the direct outcome of differences in source material: for the first period it was the Egs., particularly the priests, who were used; for the second, Eg. sources were supplemented by foreign material, pre-eminently Gk., and H.'s own observation (Introduction, pp. 89 ff., 185 ff.). The improvement in his data in the second section means that it is much more accurate than the first (Introductory n. II, 147–182), but the historical reliability of the entire account is impaired by a number of factors:

1. H. was mainly dependent for his source material on oral traditions whose origins were varied and complex. Material of this kind is incapable of preserving for any length of time a substantial body of accurate historical information; the older the tradition, the more erratic it becomes (vide infra, pp. 5, 115).
2. Contamination by Gk. traditions, concepts and practices is a pervasive source of distortion (vide infra, pp. 5 ff., 116).
3. Chronological errors are a recurrent feature, though accuracy in this respect is notably improved in the second half of the narrative (vide infra, pp. 6, 114 ff.).
4. Over-schematization is certainly active at some points (vide infra, pp. 123, 182, 227).
5. Analogies and similarities, real or imaginary, between Gk. and Eg. culture frequently receive unduly detailed scrutiny (vide infra, pp. 5 ff., 116).
6. H's foci of interest must have exercised a crucial rôle in the choice of subject-matter. Three such foci are particularly in evidence:
 - I. Events in which Gks. participated, or were believed to have participated, always draw an inordinate amount of attention, doubtless, at times, to the detriment of other considerations (vide infra, pp. 6, 115).
 - II. *Thōmata* of all kinds continue to fascinate him (vide infra, pp. 5 ff., 116).
 - III. The *Histories* have a didactic rôle which was central to H.'s purpose. His concept of human life and destiny, which mirrors, in all essentials, the traditional morality of writers of the Archaic and early Classical Periods such as Hesiod, Solon, Pindar and Aeschylus, was dominated by certain principles which he considered to be continually demonstrated in historical phenomena. These considerations he frequently highlights either by making comments in his own person (e.g. I, 5, 31, 86; VII, 137; VIII, 77) or by means of speeches, particularly those of warner figures (e.g. Solon, I, 29 ff.; Croesus, I, 86 ff., III, 36; Amasis, III, 40 ff.; Artabanus, VII, 10 ff.).

Action is perceived throughout as having two dimensions, the human and the cosmic, which were inextricably enmeshed (e.g. I, 126; III, 77, 119; VI, 69, 82, 109, 135; VII, 8, 137). The deeds of men are not perceived simply in their own terms; they are regarded as manifestations of cosmic law or *dikē*, the order of the universe conceived of as a balance of forces both moral and physical. This principle finds expression in human society in the conventions and laws which time and the wisdom of men have found conducive to the maintenance of ordered life; at a cosmic level it appears as a universal harmony and equilibrium. In either context, however, *dikē* is under the protection of the gods who have an absolute responsibility for its preservation. An essential element in this body of concepts is the idea that all things have their appointed place and time, all beings, whether human or divine, have their rôle and position, their rights and obligations. It is incumbent on all to recognize this situation and regulate their behaviour accordingly. The man who does so is *dikaïos*; the *adikos*, on the other hand, ignores this principle, attempts to transgress the appointed boundaries and thereby commits *hybris*. In social and political relations this offence is a constant source of conflict and often a criminal act (e.g. I, 106; III, 80–1, 118–9; IV, 146, 159; V, 74; VI, 85); when committed against the gods it is sacrilege. Either way the imbalance in *dikē* which it creates has to be redressed by the process of retribution (*tisis*) which is sanctioned and often executed by the gods themselves (e.g. I, 105; IV, 205; VI, 75; VII, 10; VIII, 77). To achieve an unusually high state of blessedness or wealth is itself hybriatic since it brings man into competition with the gods to whom alone such happiness was due. Mortals in such a position were exposed to the gods' *phthonos*, "envy, resentment", and given over to divine retribution just as those who were actively criminal. As they rise in the scale of prosperity, it behoves them to recall that they are but mortals and arrest their progress before it is too late. Given this attitude, it comes as no surprise that, within the conceptual system under which H. functions, human success and good fortune are regarded as precarious commodities. No man, however prosperous, can be called happy until he has been removed by death from the vicissitudes of fortune (e.g. I, 32, 34, 204–7; III, 14, 40 ff.; VII, 10, 49, 203; VIII, 109). Indeed its fickleness was such that H. had no compunction in endorsing whole-heartedly the traditional view that death is preferable to life (I, 31).

Within this corpus of ideas a position of central importance is occupied by the concept of fate or necessity which is binding even on the gods (e.g. I, 8, 34, 91; III, 64, 142, 154; IV, 79; V, 33, VI, 64). This is essentially the force ensuring that the moral order of the universe is maintained, in particular that retribution for *hybris* is

implacably exacted. It is, however, important to realize that H. does not regard the operation of this factor as in any way reducing man's moral responsibility for his actions. It works through, and in, the moral order, not in disregard of it.

Since the actions of men and gods are inseparably linked, means of communication between these two orders of being are clearly desirable. Such communication is guaranteed in several ways: oracles, dreams, portents, seers and warners. These are the channels by which the gods are thought to instruct or advise men on their fate or the best course of action (e.g. I, 34, 45, 62, 78; III, 30, 64–5; VI, 27, 98; VIII, 77). They express the presence of the gods without, in any way, implying a deterministic view of the relationship between divine will and human behaviour; they describe what will inevitably happen in a given situation and with given personalities; they do not express the resolve of the gods to bring something to pass irrespective of circumstance and character.

The concept of man as an independent moral agent is fundamental to H.'s view of historical causation. He shows a keen interest in human motivation and attributes to his characters a wide range of impulses to action, e.g. greed, pity, social obligation, love of freedom, lust for power or territorial aggrandizement, cowardice and national pride, but much the most important throughout the work is the desire for personal prestige (*timē*) which features positively as the urge to promote one's standing and estimation within a social grouping (e.g. III, 73, 134; VI, 124; VII, 8; VIII, 26) but is much more prominent in its negative aspect: injury to *timē*, an insult or humiliation, demands vengeance; to fail to respond to this imperative brings shame. It is the desire for retribution (*tisis*) for such offences which is presented by H. as the most significant factor in generating conflict within society and between states (e.g. I, 1 ff.; III, 11, 47 ff.; IV, 139; V, 49, 102; VI, 87–8, 119, 136, 138; VII, 1, 4, 8, 11; VIII, 114). Such principles of behaviour were, of course, deeply rooted in the social values of Gk. society but are freely imputed by H. to foreigners as well, i.e. H. regards the moral nature of foreign peoples as being in important respects identical with that of the Gks. and frequently works on that assumption. *Tisis* is, therefore, as important a principle in social and political life (even the life of animals, III, 109) as it is in relations between men and gods—hardly a surprising situation since Gk. ideas on the nature of the gods were no exception to the general rule that concepts of the divine order are based on the social values of the society in question.

H.'s account of Egypt's past is inevitably permeated and orientated by this view of human history which rises clearly to the surface at several points in the narrative (vide infra, pp. 5, 116).

Bibliography: Hauvette, *Hérodote*; Hirzel, *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes*; Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians*, p. 36 ff.; Wells, *Studies in Herodotus*, p. 183 ff.; Glover, *Herodotus*, p. 260 ff.; Focke, *Herodot als Historiker*; Pagel, *Die Bedeutung des ätiologischen Momentes für Herodots Geschichtsschreibung*; Bischoff, *Der Warner bei Herodot*; Deffner, *Die Rede bei Herodot*; Hellmann, *Herodots Kroisos-Logos*; Thomson, *The Art of the Logos*; Pohlenz, *Herodot*; Maddalena, *Interpretazioni Erodotee*; Daniëls, *Religieus-Historische Studie over Herodotus*; Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Index, s.v. Herodotus; De Sanctis, *Studi di Storia della Storiografia Greca*, p. 21 ff.; Gomme, *The Greek Attitude to Poetry and History*, p. 73 ff.; Crahay, *La Littérature Oraculaire chez Hérodote*; Klees, *Die Eigenart des griechischen Glaubens an Orakel und Seher*; Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought*; Huber, *Religiöse und politische Beweggründe des Handels in der Geschichtsschreibung des Herodot*; Kirchberg, *Die Funktion der Orakel im Werke Herodots*; Marg (Ed.), *Herodot*, pp. 7 ff., 12 ff., 27 ff., 35 ff., 40 ff., 185 ff., 302 ff., 375 ff., 497 ff.; Immerwahr, *Form and Thought in Herodotus*; Legrand, *Hérodote. Introduction*, p. 131 ff.; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 407 ff.; Bornitz, *Herodot-Studien*; Benardete, *Herodotean Inquiries*; Frisch, *Die Träume bei Herodot*; Adkins, *Moral Values and Political Behaviour in Ancient Greece*; Beck, *Die Ringkomposition bei Herodot*; Drexler, *Herodot-Studien*, p. 67 ff.; Fornara, *Herodotus. An Interpretative Essay*, p. 59 ff.; Lloyd-Jones, *The Justice of Zeus*; Solmsen, *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde 37(6)(1974); Fisher, *Social Values in Classical Athens*, Introduction; Heni, *Die Gespräche bei Herodot*; Krause, *ΑΛΛΟΤΕ ΑΛΛΟΤΕ. Untersuchungen zum Motiv des Schicksalswechsels in der griechischen Dichtung bis Euripides*; Lachenaud, *Mythologie, Religion et Philosophie de l'Histoire dans Hérodote*; Forrest, *The International History Review* 1(1979), p. 311 ff.; Hart, *Herodotus and Greek History*, p. 27 ff.; Hunter, *Past and Process in Herodotus and Thucydides*; Lateiner, *RhM* 125(1982), p. 97 ff.

In view of these obstacles it was quite impossible for H. to produce a history of Egypt acceptable to the modern Egyptologist. To his credit he was aware of some of his difficulties and does his best to cope with them. He is scrupulous in naming his sources (Introduction, p. 77 ff.) and, where possible, wields the full resources of his analytical powers to elucidate the truth (op. cit., p. 160 ff.). He undoubtedly did his best with quite inadequate means but our final verdict must be that, as an historical document, II, 99–182 is seriously defective. The main value of II, 99–142 is as a record of the historical traditions on the distant past which were generally current in Egypt during the 5th Century B.C. The judgement on II, 147–182 can be a little more positive: while suffering from many of the deficiencies of the earlier section, it is still the most important extant source on Saite history. Even so, it should never be forgotten that, at one important point where we are able to check the narrative against an Eg. text, it can be shown to be badly in error (n. II, 163, 1). This is not H.'s fault. Indisputably he derived the material from an Eg. source, but this example provides a disturbing demonstration of the fact that he, like ancient historians in general, simply did not possess the techniques of scholarship to test satisfactorily what he was told and was, therefore, in normal circumstances, entirely at the mercy of his informants. It is, however, doubtful whether any historian before modern times could have significantly improved on his performance when faced with similar material.

99–142. The history of Egypt from Menes to Sethos. The format is simple: H. attempts to range the kings in chronological order, giving for

each reign the events which seem to him to be of interest. He provides such chronological information as he possesses, but the inadequacies of his source material make it impossible for him to follow consistently the practice of II, 147–182 in providing reign-lengths for every king (Introduction, p. 186 ff.). As elsewhere in the *Histories*, this historical narrative is periodically punctuated by excursuses (II, 116–7, 123, 134–5, 138, 142–6; Cobet, *Herodots Exkurse und die Frage der Einheit seines Werkes* (*Historia Einzelschrift* 17)).

With the exception of the First and Second Intermediate Periods these chapters mention rulers of all the major phases of Pharaonic history down to the 7th Century B.C.: the Thinite Period (Min, II, 99), the Old Kingdom (Cheops, Chephren, Mycerinus, II, 124–134; Nitocris, II, 100), the Middle Kingdom (Moeris, II, 101, 149; Sesostris, II, 102–110; Pherōs, II, 111), the New Kingdom (Rhampsinitus, II, 121–124), the Third Intermediate Period (Libyans, II, 136; Ethiopians, II, 100, 137, 140), but the narrative displays a marked tendency to distortion which arises from several factors:

1. The major source is Eg. oral tradition, probably channelled through the priests of Memphis (Introduction, p. 89 ff.), and this material is compounded of ingredients of widely differing origins and character: historical reminiscence (e.g. nn. II, 99, 100, 101, 102, 136, 137–40); the Eg. ideal of kingship which tends to assimilate historical figures and deprive them of their identity (nn. II, 99, 102–110, 111, 136, 137, 140); folk-lore elements, which are omnipresent and undoubtedly constitute the most important factor in determining the character of H.'s tradition in this section of Book II (e.g. nn. II, 100, 107—the *fête-fatale* motif; 111 and 121—both a dense concentration of motifs; 122—the underworld and game motifs; 131—the incest motif; 133—the prophecy-fulfilled motif; 140—the return-of-the-king motif; in general vide Introduction, p. 93 ff.); confusion between rulers of different periods (II, 110); nationalist propaganda (II, 103, 110); Eg. myth (II, 99, 137, 140, 141).
2. This Eg. tradition was clearly contaminated by Gk. traditions, attitudes and practices. It is usually impossible to determine whether this process was due to H., his contemporaries, or his predecessors, but it evidently operated in a number of ways:
 - I. Gk. traditions were injected into the corpus of Eg. traditions (II, 112–120, 134).
 - II. Gks. connected Eg. achievements with monuments with which they were familiar (II, 102, 106).
 - III. Gk. concepts of the nature of man, society and the divine order inevitably intrude and colour the narrative (II, 109, 111, 120, 139, 141).
 - IV. Gk. practices in technology can be erroneously introduced into the discussion (II, 125, 127).
 - V. The Gk. money-economy is foisted onto the tradition at II, 136.

- VI. Gk. scientific interests can be attributed to the Egs. (II, 2, 28; cf. IV, 42).
3. H.'s inability to gain full access to a reliable king-list means that his history of this period suffers from severe chronological deficiencies (Introduction, p. 185 ff.).
 4. Several foci of interest must have led H. to emphasize certain elements in the tradition to the detriment of others:
 - I. He naturally gave particular attention to Gk. personalities who were believed to have been involved in the history of the period (II, 112–120, 134–135).
 - II. A connection with *thōmata*, “wonders”, was an important factor in focusing his attention on individual rulers (cf. Introduction, p. 141 ff.). This shows itself particularly clearly in the frequent references to the building activities of major figures of this period in the great temple of Ptah/Hephaestus at Memphis (II, 101) and, above all, in the lengthy discussion of the Pyramid Builders at II, 124–135.
 - III. The didactic element (Introductory n. II, 99–182) emerges explicitly at several points (II, 109, 111, 120, 139, 141). This must have had some effect on the choice of material and the manner of treatment.

It is self-evident that a narrative compounded of such multifarious elements must be treated with extreme caution as an historical source. It should not, however, be dismissed out of hand. Its value lies elsewhere and is, in fact, inestimable in that it provides us, despite the non-Eg. intrusions, with our most revealing picture of the nature of the traditions on early Eg. history which were generally current in Egypt during the 5th century B.C. and thereby offers a crucially important insight into Eg. historical consciousness at that period.

99. μέχρι μὲν τούτου... τῆς ἐμῆς ὀψιος: Cf. Introduction, p. 81 ff.

Μίνα τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα Αἰγύπτου: Cf. II, 4, 3. The only king of the Thinite Period mentioned by H. (Introductory n. II, 99–142). Eg. *Mni*, *Mnn*, *Mn*, *Mns* (Gauthier, *LR* I, p. 1 ff.); Gk. *Mēnas* (D.S., I, 43, 5; 45, 1–3; 89, 3), *Mneuēs* (id., I, 94, 1), *Mēnēs* (Manetho, *FgrH* 609, p. 16 ff., Armenian version *Mermes*; Eratosthenes, ib., 610, p. 112), *Minaios* (Josephus, *AJ* VIII, 6, 2, 155), *Mēnis* (Ael., *NA* XI, 10), *Meinis* (Plu., *DIO* 8 (*Mor* 354)); Lat. *Menos* (Plin., *NH* VII, 193), *Mnevis* (ib., XXXVI, 65). H.'s form has been claimed, implausibly, to be due to contamination from the name of the god Min (Baumgartel, *Antiquity* 21(1947), p. 145 ff.). See further Rusch, *RE* XV, 1, 846 ff.

The identity of Menes, the Unifier of Egypt, is a vexed problem. The source of the difficulty is the fact that Eg. Pharaohs used complex titularies made up of several different names (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, p. 71 ff.). At the beginning of the 1st Dyn. the full titulary would have run “*Hr x*

Nbtj y", the latter being the birth name in the period prior to King *Dn*, fourth king of the Dyn. However, the full titulary was not always used, for brevity's sake, and scribes might employ only one of these titles. Unfortunately, the choice varied according to circumstances and periods. When a scribe of the Ist Dyn. referred to a contemporary monarch using one name he would use the *Horus*-title but when he referred to a deceased monarch he used the *Nbtj*-name. As for the N.K. king lists, they use simply *Nbtj*-names for the earlier monarchs of the Ist Dyn. (Černý, *ASAE* 42(1943), p. 348 ff.; Grdseloff, ib. 44(1945), p. 282, n. 2; Helck, *ZDMG* 103(1953), p. 355 ff.; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 401; Edwards, *CAH*³ I, 2, pp. 14, 35). Now, provided we have a full titulary at our disposal, this causes no difficulty but, if we do not, problems arise; for we may be faced with a series of *Horus*-names used by contemporaries and a series of *Nbtj*-names used by later scribes and we then have to determine which belongs to which. In the case in question the Abydos King List and Turin Canon catalogue the first king of Eg. history under the personal, i.e. *Nbtj*-name, of *Mni*. On material from the beginning of the Ist Dyn. we find several kings designated by *Horus*-names whose *Nbtj*-titles are unknown because full titularies are not extant and we must, therefore, try to deduce which of these kings had *Mni* as his *Nbtj*-name.

The evidence is as follows:

- I. Documentary: 1. The Umm el-Ka'ab Jar Sealing (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 13, 93); 2. The Naqada Tablet (de Morgan, *Recherches*, II, p. 167, fig. 549 with Garstang, *ZÄS* 42(1905), p. 61); 3. The Abydos King List (Meyer, *Ägyptische Chronologie*, pl. I); 4. The Turin Canon (Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*, pl. I, ii, 10–11).
- II. Archaeological: 1. The style and content of royal monuments in the Ist Dyn.; 2. The layout of the Ist Dyn. cemetery at Abydos.

On the basis of this material a number of suggestions have been offered:

- (a) It has been maintained that Menes was a composite legendary figure who embodies elements of the early kings Scorpion, Narmer and Aha (Hall, *Ancient History*¹¹, p. 105 ff.). This suggestion has its attractions; for the achievements of various warrior-kings might well have crystallized around Menes. However, Menes must still have existed for a number of reasons:
 1. The Egs. do have legendary kings, e.g. Tuthmose, Petubastis and Nectanebo, but it is always around some historical personage that the tales collect; kings with these names actually existed. Certainly a similar process may have taken place with Menes, but he too must have been, in origin, an historical person.
 2. Manetho had no doubt of the historicity of Menes and his information on the Ist Dyn. seems basically sound.
 3. On the Naqada Tablet, and possibly the Umm el-Ka'ab jar-sealing, a name which can be read *Mn* actually occurs.
- (b) Derchain (*RdE* 18(1966), p. 31 ff.) argued that the name *Mn* is based on

the word *Mn* = ὁ δεῖνα, “so-and-so”, which had been inserted in a lacuna which the scribe was unable to fill with a specific historical name (cf. *Wb* II, pp. 64, 13–14; 65, 1–2) and that the alleged achievements of Menes were partly imported from creation myth (cf. Brunner, *ZDMG* 103(1953), p. 22 ff.) and partly the work of N.K. monarchs concerned to create an image of the ideal ruler. That a certain amount of mythical contamination has taken place is well-nigh certain (Brunner, *op. cit.*, p. 25 ff.) but the high degree of probability that the name Menes does occur on contemporary documents (*vide infra*) makes Derchain’s theory implausible (cf. also Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 14).

- (c) The most promising alternative is to try and identify Menes with the bearer of one of the Ḥorus names which can be assigned to the very beginning of the 1st Dyn. The only two viable candidates are the Ḥorus Narmer and the Ḥorus Aḥa who must be located at that point in the dynasty and in that order of succession by the iconography of their names (Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 33), the documentary evidence on the number of kings belonging to the dynasty (Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 430), and the layout of the royal cemetery at Abydos (Kaiser–Dreyer, *MDAI(K)* 38(1982), p. 211 ff.). The arguments for each may be summarized as follows:

1. *Narmer*. A number of points can be brought forward to substantiate the identification with this king:

- (a) The fragmentary Umm el-Ka’ab jar sealing bears the name of Narmer accompanied by a Hieroglyphic group which reads *Mn*. It is argued from this that Narmer and Menes were the same person. If, however, we applied this method to other kings, we get into difficulties. In the case of Aḥa, for example, we find three different groups used in the same way as the *Mn* group of the Umm el-Ka’ab sealing (cf. Emery, *Ḥor-Aḥa*, p. 8). Thus, on methodological grounds, this juxtaposition proves nothing; equally, however, it disproves nothing (Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 405).

- (b) Petrie (*AE* 1916, p. 119 ff.) pointed out that on the Cairo fragment of the Palermo Stone what appears to be the title “Ḥorus Djer” occurs with the name *’It*. On the Abydos King List the third king of the Dyn. has a name corresponding to this. Since Petrie knew only of two earlier kings, Narmer and Aḥa, in that order, he concluded that Aḥa must be *Tti*, the second king on the Abydos List, and Narmer must be the *Mni* who is placed at the beginning of the list. Drioton–Vandier (*L’Egypte*⁴, p. 161) object that a succession Narmer–Menes–Aḥa–Djer is still possible but, since the only three kings who have left any monumental traces of themselves are the three mentioned above, this line of succession is extremely improbable.

- (c) The Narmer Palette (Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, I, pl. XXIX) and

the Narmer Mace-head (Quibell, *op. cit.*, p. XXVI) show that Narmer claimed to be king of U. and L.E. To say, as does Emery (*Archaic Egypt*, p. 33), that the claim does not prove the actuality is no objection. Narmer had obviously won a great victory over the N., enough to give him a firm claim, recognized by posterity, to be the Unifier of Egypt.

2. *Aḥa*. The main evidence adduced in support of Aḥa is the Naqada Tablet. The top register of this document shows the Ḥorus-name of Aḥa beside a structure represented in outline and containing the title *Nbty* over what looks like the draught-board sign which reads *Mn*. It was thought for many years that this proved that the *Nbty* name of Ḥor Aḥa was *Mn* and that he was, therefore, the Menes of tradition (Sethe, *op. cit.*, p. 23). However, several objections have been made to this identification:

1. It has been asserted that, when the Ḥorus and *Nbty*-names of the same king are placed together, it was Eg. practice to set them in opposition to each other. Since the names on the tablet face the same way, they cannot, therefore, belong to the same king. The argument is false since the epigraphic principle on which it is based is demonstrably unsound (Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, I, pl. XXVIII, n. 72).
2. It is also claimed that the *Nbty*-title was used only of the dead king while the Ḥorus-title was reserved for the living. This is certainly incorrect (Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, p. 35).
3. It is in the nature of such tablets to date particular items to given years by depicting the chief events of the year in question. Consequently the top register should denote some important event involving the destruction of certain enemies and the subsequent journeying of Ḥor Aḥa by ship to a place denoted on the right-hand side of the tablet. Everything is turned in that direction, apparently calling our attention to a particularly important event. If the object to the right simply denotes the *Nbty*-name of Aḥa, much of the narrative would evaporate and there would be little point at all in the register.
4. Perhaps the most important objection to the identification is that it ignores the structure which surrounds the group *Nbty Mn*. Explanations of it have been various:
 - I. Grdseloff (*ASAE* 44(1945), p. 279 ff.) suggested that the structure might have funerary connections and identified it with the *wrmt*, "funerary-tent".
 - II. Vikentiev (*ASAE* 33(1933), 216 ff.; 34(1934), p. 1 ff.) came to the conclusion that it is a *Hb-sd* pavilion. The major objections to this are that the *Hb-sd* pavilion is never represented like this in later times; the two sections are placed back to back. Furthermore, the group beneath the *Nbty*-sign

looks most unlike the two seats which are a constant feature of the *Hb-sd* pavilion in later times. Even at this early period the conventions of Eg. art are so developed that these are damning criticisms.

III. Helck (*ZDMG* 103(1953), p. 355) would have us believe that the structure is a building called "The Two Ladies Remain". If Thinite material is carefully studied, it becomes clear that the constructions depicted with their names within them are cities or temples which are drawn in plan. The structure in question does not look like either of these. We may, therefore, assume that it is not a building with its name inside. Further, the translation places a great strain on our credulity. Not only should we expect a group or sign immediately following the *Nbty*-title to be a name but we have, in addition, good reasons to believe that *Mn*, the obvious prototype of Menes, was a *Nbty* name (vide supra). The appearance of a sign *Mn* in conjunction with the *Nbty*-title at the very period in which we should expect to find it is surely too great a coincidence if it does not refer to the king in question.

It would, therefore, seem that the suggestion of Grdseloff that the enclosure is a funerary tent must be regarded as the most plausible. The inclusion of the *Nbty*-title of *Mn* must mean that it belonged to him. The fact that the top register of the tablet depicts an important event involving Aḥa and this funerary tent must then imply that he is going to conduct the obsequies of his predecessor. The feasible predecessor, as already indicated, is Narmer. Narmer must, therefore, be Menes (cf. Edwards, op. cit., p. 14).

Conclusion. Narmer and Menes were probably identical.

Bibliography: Erman, *ZÄS* 30(1892), p. 43 ff.; Borchardt, ib. 36(1898), p. 87; Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 33 ff.; Petrie, *AE* 1916, p. 119 ff.; Newberry in Brunton, *Great Ones of Egypt*, II, p. 35 ff.; Vikentiev, *ASAE* 33(1933), p. 208 ff.; id., ib. 34(1934), p. 33 ff.; Arkell, *Antiquity* 37(1963), p. 31 ff.; Müller, *Die formale Entwicklung der Titulatur der ägyptischen Könige*, p. 19 ff.; Grdseloff, *ASAE* 44(1945), p. 279 ff.; Baumgartel, *Antiquity* 21(1947), p. 145 ff.; Vikentiev, *ASAE* 48(1948), p. 670 ff.; Brunner, *ZDMG* 103(1953), p. 22 ff.; Helck, ib. 103(1953), p. 354 ff.; Kaiser, *ZÄS* 84(1959), p. 119 ff.; Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, p. 32 ff.; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 402 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*⁴, p. 161 ff.; Edwards, *CAH*³ I, 2, p. 11 ff.; Derchain, *RdE* 18(1966), p. 31 ff.; Morenz, *ZÄS* 99(1973), p. X ff.; Kaiser-Dreyer, *MDAI(K)* 38(1982), p. 211 ff.

H. credits Menes with three achievements: 1. Building the dyke S. of Memphis (τοῦτο μὲν ἀπογεφυρώσαι... τὸ μέσον τῶν ὁρέων ῥέειν); 2. Founding the city of Memphis (ὡς δὲ τῷ Μῖνι ... ὁ Νεῖλος ἀπέργει); 3. Building the temple of Ptah (τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου... μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιαπληγώτατον). These traditions are not of equal merit:

1. The dyking and diversion of the Nile would have been a colossal project and had, in any case, such limited value that we are justified in doubting that it was ever carried out. The tale smacks strongly of the fabulous (Introduction, p. 107) and encourages the conviction that we are in the realm of pseudo-historical tradition typical of H.'s account of Eg. history. The *logos* probably has its origin in the interaction of several elements:
 - (a) Canal-digging and dyke-building were regarded by the Egs. as one of the foundations of their civilization and featured amongst the canonical duties of the Eg. king (n. II, 108). Menes, the embodiment of the ideal of Pharaoh *par excellence*, would have been expected to exhibit particular prowess in this field.
 - (b) Menes was believed to have founded the city of Memphis (vide infra).
 - (c) Major flood-protection systems existed in the vicinity of Memphis during the Persian Period and there is evidence of them in the Saite Dyn. (Daressy, *ASAE* 23(1923), p. 48). The need for dykes continued to be felt in the area in modern times (Sethe, op. cit., p. 123; Edwards, op. cit., p. 10).
 - (d) H.'s *λίμνην ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην* sounds like a precursor of the modern El-Libeini canal. This begins about 100 stades S. of Memphis, opposite Atfih and hugs the Libyan cliffs passing between Memphis and Saqqara to end S. of Kafr Ḥakim opposite Cairo (Sethe, op. cit., p. 123; Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 147).

The interaction of these factors would account without any difficulty for the main features of the narrative and absolves us from making any forlorn attempts to identify grains of historical truth in the tradition of Menes' colossal irrigation projects. Indeed, it is even conceivable that the story owes something to the Gk. tradition of Thales' prowess as a hydraulic engineer (cf. H., I, 75).
2. The city founded by Menes, whatever its form, was not called Memphis (τοῦτο μὲν...ἦτις νῦν Μέμφις καλεῖται); for the name derives from that of the Pyramid of Pepi I of the VIth Dyn.: *Mn-nfr-Mry-r*^c, *Mn nfr*; Copt. *SṢNQṢ*, *SṢENBE*, *BṢEQI*, *ṢENQ*; Heb. מִמְפִּי *Môph*; Ass. *Mimpi*; Ar. *Menf* (Gauthier, *DG* III, p. 38 ff.; Kees, *RE* XV, 1, 660 ff.; Badawi, *Memphis*, p. 2 ff.; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 122* ff.; Montet, *DG* I, p. 27 ff.; Edwards, op. cit., p. 16). The commonest name was *'Inb ḥd*, "The White Wall", and it was presumably so called in Menes' times, though the name first appears in surviving texts in the IIInd Dyn. (Sethe, op. cit., p. 124 ff.). That the city does indeed date to the early Ist Dyn. is indicated by several points:
 - I. The rich cemeteries at Saqqara, the Memphite necropolis, begin at that time (Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 147 ff.; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 408 ff.; Edwards, op. cit., p. 16).

II. Petrie discovered Early Dynastic pottery in the southern part of Memphis (*Memphis II*, Ch. V).

III. Festivals known to be Memphite, e.g. the Feast of Sokaris, the *Smꜣwꜣwy*, the *Phꜣr ḥꜣ inb* and the Running of Apis, are mentioned for the Thinite Period on the Palermo Stone (Schäfer, *Bruchstück*, pp. 15, 16, 19, 21, 23–4 etc.; Kees, *RE XV*, 1, 660).

The White Wall itself (cf. H., III, 91; Th., I, 104 with Schol. ad loc.; D.S., XI, 74 ff.) was a fortress constructed on the modern Kom el-Kelb in the northern part of the city (Sethe, op. cit., p. 121 ff.; Kees, *RE XV*, 1, 671 ff.; id., *Ancient Egypt*, p. 148) for the purpose of overawing and governing the newly conquered Delta kingdom (Edwards, op. cit., p. 16). It was probably similar to the Thinite forts of Abydos (Vandier, *Manuel*, I, 2, p. 946 ff.) and Hieraconpolis (op. cit., I, 1, p. 526 ff.; for Thinite fortification in general see Emery, *Archaic Egypt*, p. 116 ff.) which both consist of two concentric rectangular walls of mud brick (cf. Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 148). The city as a centre of habitation probably grew up out of the fusion of numerous pre-existing villages around the nucleus of the fortress and temple (Petrie, *Memphis I*, p. 1 ff.; cf. Kees, *Ägypten*, p. 63).

H.'s statement that the city was surrounded by water except to the S. is corroborated by several facts:

I. Str. mentioned lakes before the city in a description which, where controllable, accords well with archaeological data (XVII, I, 32 (C808)).

II. The Piaye (Piankhi) Stele describing a Nubian attack on the city suggests an insular position (*Urk III*, 33–5 ~ Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III, *The Late Period*, p. 75 ff.; Montet, *DG I*, p. 30).

III. Memphis is still surrounded by canals (Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 171).

This evidence proves that H. is right for the L.P. at least. It is, however, quite possible, though undemonstrable, that water defences were thrown around the city by Menes himself; for the military rôle of the settlement is beyond doubt (vide supra). It should be observed that no water defence is mentioned to the S. Presumably Memphis was heavily fortified in that direction (Sethe, op. cit., p. 131).

3. That Menes founded the temple of Ptah at Memphis is corroborated by a N.K. gravestone which mentions Ptah of *Mnnꜣ* (Erman, *ZÄS* 30 (1892), p. 43 ff.; Sethe, op. cit., p. 130 ff.; Badawi, *Memphis*, p. 13). The great temple of Ptah, one of the most important and splendid in Egypt (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 44, 1 ff.; Badawi, op. cit., p. 12 ff.; Kees, *RE XV*, I, 675 ff.), lay to the S. of the White Wall (the god often being described as *rs(y) inbꜣf*, "South of his Wall", i.e. S. of the fortress) and to the E. of the village of Mit Rahineh. The *temenos* covered a considerable area demarcated in the latest period by a massive brick wall. Next to nothing of the temple seen by H. could have dated from

the 1st Dyn.; Menes' structure would have been built of mud brick and wattle, possibly a little stone (cf. Vandier, *op. cit.*, II, p. 555 ff.; Emery, *op. cit.*, p. 128; Ricke, *Bemerkungen*, I, p. 21 ff.; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, I, p. 51 ff.; Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 59 ff.) and had long since been overlaid with later stone structures. The earliest extant material is M.K. (Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, Ch. VIII) while there was a great deal of activity in the N.K. (id., *Memphis I*, p. 6 ff.; Kees, *RE XV*, I, 675 ff.) and L.P. (Petrie, *Memphis II*, p. 1 ff.) and some in the Ptolemaic era (Petrie, *Memphis I*, p. 2 ff.). H. himself mentions building at the temple by Moeris (II, 101), Sesostris (II, 108, 110), Asychis (II, 136) and Psammetichus I (II, 153).

Bibliography: LD I, 9; Erman, *ZÄS* 30(1892), p. 43 ff.; Sethe, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 121 ff.; Gauthier, *DG* III, p. 38 ff.; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 122*ff.; Montet, *DG* I, p. 27 ff.; Petrie, *Memphis I–V*; Engelbach, *Riqqeh & Memphis VI*; Fisher, *The Museum Journal* 6 (1915), p. 63 ff.; id., *ib.* 8(1917), p. 211 ff.; Kees, *RE XV*, I, 660 ff.; Anthes, *Mit Rahineh 1955*; id., *Mit Rahineh 1956*; Badawi, *Memphis als zweite Landeshauptstadt im Neuen Reich*; Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 147 ff.; *PM²* III, 2, p. 830 ff.; Smith *et al.*, *JEA* 69(1983), p. 30 ff.

To conclude: H.'s account of Menes has a complex origin. There is no reason to deny the essential historicity of the claims that he founded the city of Memphis and constructed the first temple of Ptaḥ on the site. On the other hand, the description of his irrigation work looks like a narrative which presented Menes enacting one of the functions of the ideal king. It is probably also influenced by folk-lore and possibly contaminated by Gk. influence.

100. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον κατέλεγον... ἄνδρες Αἰγύπτιοι: Introduction, pp. 89 ff., 185 ff. The figure refers to rulers between Min and Sethos who was probably Shabataka of the XXVth Dyn. (n. II, 141). Since Manetho's volume-totals yield 323 kings up to this reign (*FgrH* 609, p. 58 ff.), H.'s figure is startlingly close to that acceptable to at least one Eg. priest of the Ptol. Period.

Νίτωκρις: Eg. *Nt-ikr-ti*, "Neith is excellent", a very common name in the L.P. (Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, p. 181, 27) when it was borne by a number of princesses, e.g. the well-known daughter of Psammetichus I (cf. the Nitocris Adoption Stele, Caminos, *JEA* 50(1964), p. 71 ff.). For other classical accounts of Nitocris vide Manetho (*FgrH* 609, p. 26 ff.), Eratosthenes (?) (*FgrH* 610, F.1 <κβ>), Dio Cassius (LXII, 6; LXXIX, 23) and Julian (*Or* III, 127B). This tradition is frequently confused in antiquity with that on the famous courtesan Rhodopis (n. II, 135; Stern, *ZÄS* 23(1885), p. 92; Piehl, *PSBA* 11(1889), p. 221 ff.; Hall, *JHS* 24(1904), p. 208 ff.; van de Walle, *L'Antiquité Classique* 3(1934), p. 303 ff.; Coche-Zivie, *BIFAO* 72(1972), p. 115 ff.). The historical elements in it are difficult to determine. There is the following evidence:

1. F. 43 of the Turin Canon contains a cartouche bearing the name: "[King of U. and] L. Egypt *Nt-ikr-ty*". Gardiner's reconstruction places it at the end of the VIth Dyn. in a position which would make the holder the second monarch after Pepi II (Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*, IV, 8, p. 16, n. ad loc.). That it is a woman's name is certain.
2. On the Abydos King List, the only other Eg. list covering in detail the period in question, there is no mention of *Nt-ikr-ti* (Meyer, *Äg. Chronologie*, pl. I, no. 34 ff.).
3. Our passage proves that H. knew a tradition that Egypt had once been ruled by a queen called Nitocris.
4. Manetho (l.c.) places Nitocris at the end of the VIth Dyn., one reign after Phiöps, i.e. Pepi II, and gives her a reign of 12 years.
5. Although the name *Nt-ikr-ti* is not as yet exemplified in a text dating before the M.K. (earliest extant instance in Gardiner-Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, no. 98), the frequent occurrence of names compounded with Neith as early as the Thinite Period makes it highly likely that it was known in the late O.K.
6. In ancient Egypt queens did occasionally achieve Pharaonic or quasi-Pharaonic status (e.g. Sobknofrurê, Hatshepsut, Twosrê).
7. The closing years of the VIth Dyn. were years of growing disorder during which a strong and masterful woman might easily have usurped in whole or part the prerogatives of Pharaoh.
8. Identifiably legendary material exists in the Nitocris tradition. In particular, the beauty of Rhodopis and her connection with the Third Pyramid of Giza tend to be transferred to Nitocris (cf. Manetho, l.c.). H.'s *logos* also clearly owes much to folk-tale (vide infra).

All ancient information which can be listed under 8 must be stripped off and, *ipso facto*, all attempts to relate Nitocris to ancient monuments such as the Fourth Pyramid of Giza etc. (Petrie, *History of Egypt*¹⁰, I, p. 117 ff.; Junker, *MDAI(K)* 3(1932), p. 144 ff.; Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, IV, p. 11 ff.; van de Walle, op. cit., p. 303 ff.) become irrelevant. What remains permits the following deductions. 1, 3 and 4 show that, from at least as early as the XIXth Dyn. (the date of the Turin Canon) down to Ptol. times, there was a firm Eg. tradition that, at the end of the VIth Dyn., Egypt had been ruled by a woman called *Nt-ikr-ti*/Nitocris. That much can be taken as certain. Whether that tradition had an historical basis is a question which cannot be answered with complete confidence. It is possible that it is based on nothing more than the corruption of the name *Ntr-k-r* (Abydos List no.40) (so Stern, l.c.). On the other hand, although elements of fable have demonstrably crept in, particularly from the Rhodopis tradition (8), onomastic considerations (5), the political conditions of the late VIth Dyn. (7) and parallels from later Eg. history (6) strongly suggest that the tradition is fundamentally sound. The failure of *Nt-ikr-ti* to appear on the Abydos List (2) is no refutation. She may have been omitted because her legitimacy was not accepted by the compilers of that list (cf. Introduction, p. 90) or she

may actually be lurking there behind one of the names immediately following Pepi II (no. 38). They are all masculine, but so were some of the names of Ḥatshepsut. Though by no means the most ingenious interpretation yet offered, this is much the most economical and, *ipso facto*, preferable. We, therefore, incline to the belief that, in the troubled days of the late VIth Dyn., a woman called *Nt-ikr-ti* did rule in Egypt and that she made so strong an impression on Eg. historical consciousness that she became the focal point for a body of legend in much the same way as Senwosret III (vide Introduction p. 100 ff.). This was then taken over by Classical writers and contaminated still further with elements from the Rhodopis tradition.

Bibliography: Stern, *ZÄS* 23(1885), p. 92; Hall, *JHS* 24(1904), p. 208 ff.; Petrie, *History of Egypt*¹⁰, I, p. 117; Hall, *CAH* I, p. 297; Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, IV, p. 11 ff.; Junker, *MDAI(K)* 3 (1932), p. 144 ff.; van de Walle, *L'Antiquité Classique* 3(1934), p. 303 ff.; Newberry, *JEA* 29 (1943), p. 51 ff.; Stevenson Smith, *CAH*³ I, 2, p. 196 ff.; Otto-Helck, *Kleines Wörterbuch*², p. 252; Coche-Zivie, *BIFAO* 72(1972), p. 115 ff.

τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ: Only here and I, 185 ff. According to H. she was the mother of Labynetos, king of Babylon (Nabū-na'id), and the wife of another Labynetos, who appears to be Nebuchadnezzar. Identification is difficult. Her legend is complex and contains many ingredients but it is probably in large measure based on that extraordinary figure Adad-guppi, the mother of Nabonidus (Röllig, *Festschrift für Altheim*, I, p. 127 ff.). Why she should be called Nitocris is, however, a problem. "Mangel an sprachlichem Verständnis mag ebenso mit im Spiel gewesen sein wie die Kombination der beiden auffälligen Frauengestalten unter einem Namen" (Röllig, op. cit., p. 134). It is also possible that the name derived from a Saite princess who had married into the Babylonian royal family (cf. Nitetis, H., III, 1, 3; Newberry, *JEA* 29(1943), p. 51, n. 5).

Bibliography: Lenschau, *RE* SB VII, 570 ff.; Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, Index, s.v. Nitocris; Röllig, *Festschrift für Altheim*, I, p. 127 ff.

τὴν ἔλεγον τιμωρέουσιν ἀδελφεῷ... γένηται: An example of the common folk motif of the *fête fatale* (Introduction, p. 107). This violent tale may reflect the disturbed political conditions of the late VIth Dyn. (Otto-Helck, *Kleines Wörterbuch*², p. 252). Note, however, that, since vengeance is a typical motive of characters in the *Histories* as a whole, the presence of this element in the narrative is almost certainly to be ascribed to Gk. contamination (Introductory n. II, 99-182).

101. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων... Μοίριος: For the chronological implications of this statement vide Introduction, p. 188 ff.

Μοίριος: Amenemhēt III (n. II, 4, 3).

τοῦτον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι... προπύλαια: Cf. D.S., I, 51. Building in the Temple of Ptah at Memphis was initiated by Menes (II, 99, 4) and becomes a *Leitmotif* of H.'s history of Egypt (cf. II, 108, 110, 121, 136, 153; cf. 112, 176). The prominence of this *topos* reflects the particular interest which long and close familiarity and the spectacular nature of its main architectural complex had engendered in the Gk. world. His statement on Moeris is confirmed by the fact that remains of a gateway of Amenemhēt III have been found in the northern part of the *temenos*-wall, as well as other XIIth Dyn. debris (Petrie, *Memphis I*, pl. I with *Memphis V*, p. 32).

λίμνην τε ὀρύξαι... δηλώσω: Vide n. II, 149–150.

πυραμίδας τε ἐν αὐτῇ... ἐπιμνήσομαι: In fact colossi (n. II, 149, 2–3).

102–110. The Sesostris legend of which H. provides the earliest exemplar. The broad stratification of his version, if not its detailed articulation, is easily established:

- (a) *Historical reminiscence of the XIIth Dyn. (c. 1991–1786 B.C.).* The name “Sesostris” is unquestionably based on that borne by three kings of this period. Two of these, Senwosret (Sesostris) I and Senwosret (Sesostris) III, were monarchs of outstanding capacity and energy whose activities inside and outside Egypt left an indelible mark on Eg. history. For that reason they registered a profound impression on Eg. historical consciousness (e.g. n. II, 110, 1) which was subsumed in the image of a great king called Senwosret who united elements of both and became the core of the Sesostris legend.
- (b) *Historical reminiscence of post-XIIth Dyn. kings.* Once established in the terms described in (a) we should expect Sesostris to attract elements of many kings, particularly those whose careers were generally comparable to his own. Ramesses II would be an obvious candidate and II, 110 (vide n. ad loc.) provides strong evidence that he has contributed something. It is also evident that Sheshonk I of the XXIIInd (Bubastite) Dyn. (n. II, 136) is involved.
- (c) *The Pharaonic Ideal.* The figure of Sesostris must have been influenced by this factor. The Egs. had a clear conception of the ideal ruler and the ideal reign of which the most striking and succinct expression is probably the historical excursus of the Great Harris Papyrus (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 75, 1 ff. ~ *BAR IV*, §397 ff.). The basic elements are: Pharaoh ascends the throne as Ḥorus, champion of cosmic order (*mꜣt*) and vanquishes the forces of darkness; in continuation of this rôle he then ensures the well-being of Egypt in economic terms by organizing the irrigation system and in military terms by maintaining its military forces and defeating its external foes; the *pax deorum* is ensured by supplying temples with all their requirements and by constructing monuments both for the gods and for himself (statues and mortuary

installations); expeditions will be sent to Punt (n. II, 158), Sinai and other canonical sources of raw materials and in the course of these operations the gods will indicate their approval of the king by *bi:yt*, "marvels", which may consist both of the conspicuous success of the enterprise and of any signs or omens which the gods may choose to provide. The result of all this will be long life for the king and the realization of the will of the gods in the establishment of the cosmic order on earth. This stereotype clearly had an all-embracing influence on official "historical" records but must also have had an effect on the evolution of popular tradition. In both spheres it creates for the analyst an insoluble problem: inasmuch as its ingredients are drawn from historical experience we may have in the description of any reign either a narrative of what took place or a completely idealized picture or something anywhere between the two. As applied to the Sesostri-legend this has a crucial consequence. Many of his acts *could* be historical reminiscences of the XIIth Dyn. but they could also be nothing more than the presentation of Sesostri as an embodiment of the Pharaonic ideal—and *there is no acid test for establishing which is involved or whether we have a complex amalgam of both*.

- (d) *Folk-lore*. The Sesostri-figure of tradition attracted many errant folk-motifs, e.g. the *fête fatale*, the treacherous brother and the culture-hero (nn. II, 107–9; on the general principle of such contamination vide Introduction, p. 100 ff.).
- (e) *Nationalist propaganda*. Eg. self-esteem was frequently in need of refurbishing during the L.P. as one foreign conqueror followed another in regular succession. We, therefore, find the Egs. using the achievements of Sesostri, the ideal ruler, as a means of trumping foreign successes with superior Eg. triumphs. This reaction was, though not, perhaps, for the first time, stimulated particularly by the Persians whom the Egs. heartily detested. Consequently, we find them broadening the range of Sesostri's conquests to keep pace with, and often surpass, those of the Achaemenids (n. II, 110). This development *may* have begun in the reign of Cyrus (d. 529) but more probably after the Persian occupation of Egypt (525). It is this factor which was responsible for making Sesostri the conqueror of the Scythians, against whom Darius had failed (n. II, 103, 1), and master of Ethiopia where Cambyses had encountered disaster (n. II, 110, 1).
- (f) *Greek contamination*. It is clear that, in the process of assimilating the Eg. tradition, the Greeks introduced ideas of their own, e.g. the identification of Hittite and Near Eastern monuments as records of Sesostri's conquests (nn. II, 102, 106) and the insistence on Sesostri's egalitarianism (n. II, 109).

The interaction of these factors will explain all the elements in the Herodotean *logos*. Subsequently, the legend was developed in three main directions (cf., in particular, D.S., I, 53 ff.):

1. The implications of H.'s statements are unpacked and expanded (nn. II, 108, 110, 2).
2. Nationalist propaganda reacted to the conquests of Alexander the Great as previously to those of the Persians and extended the Eg. hero's conquests *pari passu*, particularly to the E. (Lange, *Sesostris*, p. 22 ff.).
3. The Osiris/Dionysus Romance, which certainly affected Hellenistic traditions about Egypt, closely resembles at some points the Hellenistic version of the Sesostris saga (cf. D.S., I, 14 ff. with 53 ff.). This situation will be the result of mutual contamination.

Bibliography: Sethe, *Sesostris*; Maspero, *Journal des Savants* 1901, p. 593 ff.; Sethe, *ZÄS* 41 (1904), p. 43 ff.; Kees, *RE* IIA, 1861 ff.; Spiegelberg, *Klio* 19(1925), p. 101 ff.; Rattenbury in Powell (Ed.), *New Chapters in the History of Gk. Literature*³, p. 211 ff.; Posener, *BIFAO* 34 (1934), p. 75 ff.; Zimmermann, *RhM* 85(1936), p. 165 ff.; Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature*, passim; Pfister, *Würzburger Jahrbücher für Altertumswissenschaft* 1(1946), p. 29 ff.; Lange, *Sesostris*; Posener, *Littérature et Politique*, p. 141 ff.; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, pp. 34 ff., 60 ff.; Goossens, *La Nouvelle Clio* 10–12(1958–62), p. 293 ff.; Allam–Morenz, *FuF* 36(1962), p. 8 ff.; Malaise, *CdE* 41(1966), p. 244 ff.; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 159 ff.; Froidefond, *Le Mirage Egyptien*, index, s.v. Sesostris; Lloyd, *Historia* 31(1982), p. 33 ff.

H.'s narrative breaks down as follows:

- 102–6. Sesostris' conquests and their effects.
107. The unsuccessful attempt of Sesostris' brother to assassinate him.
- 108–9. Sesostris' contributions to the well-being of Egypt in religious, military, economic and administrative contexts.

102. παραμειψάμενος ὦν τούτους... βασιλέος: The Ancients disagree on Sesostris' chronological position. H. places him *immediately* after Moeris (Amenemhêt III) whilst D.S. claims a time-lapse of 7 generations (I, 53, 1). Manetho locates him after Amenemhêt II (*FgrH* 609, F.2–3, p. 30 ff.). It is possible that H.'s error arose from confusing Amenemhêt II, who was succeeded by a Senwosret (Sesostris), and Amenemhêt III, who was not, but in all probability the source of the error lies much deeper (cf. Introduction, p. 188 ff.; Sethe, *Sesostris*, p. 9 ff.).

τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σέσωστρις: Alternative forms are *Sesoōsis* (D.S., l.c.), *Sesōtris* or *Sesonchōsis* (Manetho, l.c.; Schol. ad Ap. Rh., IV, 276; *POxy* 1826), *Sasychis* (D.S., I, 94, 3), *Sōstris* (John of Antioch, *FHG* IV, p. 543, F.6) and *Vesozes* and variants (Orosius, I, 14; Jordanes, *Getica*, 6, 47 ff.; Justin, I, 1; II, 3). These arise either directly from the royal name *S-n-wsrt*, "Man of the Goddess Wosret", borne by three kings of the XIIth Dyn. (Gauthier, *LR* I, p. 265 ff.), or by contamination of *S-n-wsrt* with the XXIIInd Dyn. royal name *Ššnḳ* and its Gk. transcriptions (Gauthier, op. cit., III, p. 307 ff.). For analysis in detail vide Spiegelberg, *RT* 28(1906), p. 195 ff.; Sethe, *Sesostris*, p. 4 ff.; Maspero, *Journal des Savants* 1901, p. 593 ff.; Sethe, *ZÄS* 41(1904), p. 43 ff.; Kees, *RE* IIA, 1855, 1861; Allam–Morenz, *FuF* 36(1962), p. 8 ff.; Malaise, *CdE* 41(1966), p. 244 ff.

πρῶτον μὲν πλοίοισι μακροῖσι... καταστρέφεται: Considerably amplified in later versions. D.S. claims that Sesostris was sent by his father with an army to Arabia and subdued it (I, 53, 5). At 55, 2 we are told that Sesostris, *πρῶτος τῶν ἐγχωρίων μακρὰ σκάφη ναυπηγησάμενος*, dispatched a fleet of 400 ships to the Erythraean Sea and subdued the off-shore islands and coastal peoples as far as India (cf. Str., XV, 1, 6(C687)). Str. speaks of expeditions which conquered Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Arabians and Asiatics and also of monuments of Sesostris in the Red Sea area (XVI, 4, 4(C769); 4, 7(C770)). The most important elements giving rise to this tradition are:

- (a) anti-Persian nationalism (Introductory n. II, 102–110). Darius had sent a fleet of 24 (or 32) vessels down the Red Sea (Posener, *BIFAO* 34 (1934), p. 80) and had also been responsible for considerable conquests in the E. (H., IV, 44). The achievements of Egypt's great national hero must be made to equal them (Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature*, p. 16). From c. 330 B.C. the details were amplified by:
- (b) the desire to match the conquests of Alexander the Great (Introductory n. I.c.).
- (c) The Punt expeditions and related activities of Pharaonic and Ptolemaic times will have contributed something (Sethe, *Sesostris*, p. 17 ff.; Kees, op. cit., 1866; Malaise, op. cit., p. 263 ff.).
- (d) Sesostris' operations in Arabia will owe something to Eg. expeditions to Sinai (Malaise, op. cit., p. 260) as well as to a desire to present a successful Eg. counterpart to a failure of Cambyses (Braun, I.c.).

ἐς δὲ πλέοντά μιν... ὑπὸ βραχέων: One wonders how H. reconciled this item with his account of Necho's circumnavigation of Africa (IV, 42). Hazards there certainly are in the Red Sea (n. II, 11, 2) but they are far from insuperable. Probably this detail is dictated by the inner logic of the tradition. Sesostris needs to be brought back to accomplish further feats in other parts of the world and the mystique of such a hero would require that the factor compelling his return should not be human opposition. A plausible natural obstacle has, therefore, been introduced. It should, however, be noted that such a qualification of Pharaoh's omnipotence is highly unlikely in an Eg. source. It smacks of Gk. rationalism (cf. Introductory n. II, 102–110). For a different, if improbable, explanation vide Malaise, op. cit., p. 249, n. 8.

ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ... καταστρεφόμενος: In D.S. (I, 55; cf. Manetho, I.c.) Sesostris becomes the conqueror of all Asia, even surpassing Alexander the Great in that he crossed the Ganges and reached Ocean. The entire campaign is stated to have lasted nine years (D.S., I.c.; Manetho, I.c.). Anti-Persian nationalism and, later, the conquests of Alexander are again factors of crucial importance in generating the tradition. XIIIth Dyn. Asiatic expeditions like those mentioned in the stelae of Nesumontju (Sethe, *Lesestücke*,

p. 81 ff. ~ *BAR* I, §469 ff., reign of Senwosret I) and Sobkkhu (op. cit., p. 82 ff. ~ *BAR* I, §676, Senwosret III) *may* have had some influence but the achievements of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dyn., when Egypt's frontier was sporadically extended as far as the Euphrates, must have played a rôle of considerably more importance (cf. Sethe, *Sesostris*, p. 18 ff.; Malaise, op. cit., p. 264 ff.).

ότεοῖσι μὲν νυν... ἀνάλκιδες: Cf. II, 106; Manetho, l.c.; D.S., I, 55, 7 ff., whose rendering of the inscription is strongly reminiscent of Persian formulae. The latter also states that stelae recording valiant opponents bore an *aidoion andros*. What are the ingredients of this bizarre tradition? Although Eg. priests are responsible for much of the information in this chapter (they are mentioned twice), it is clear that this passage emanates mainly from a non-Eg. source:

1. Although Eg. texts sometimes refer to the cowardice of their enemies (e.g. Sethe, *Lesestücke*, p. 84 ~ Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, *The Old and Middle Kingdoms*, p. 119), it is not their practice to distinguish between valiant and cowardly foes. They were all equally vile!
2. A hieroglyph based on the female sex organ was used as a phonetic sign to write the words *hm/hmty*, "punk, poltroon" (*Wb* III, p. 80; Gwyn Griffiths, *Conflict*, p. 44), but, to my knowledge, it was never employed as an iconographic symbol for cowardice in the fashion suggested by H. in this passage.

If the source was non-Eg., it could only be Gk. since no other people in H.'s time appear to have played any rôle in developing the Sesostris legend. What, then, was their source? Obviously a representation of some sort. Where and what could it have been? H. mentions seeing monuments of Sesostris in *Palaistinē Syriē*, i.e. between Phoenicia and Egypt (II, 106, 2), but there is no indication that this was not his own personal discovery. The one place where we can be *sure* that a considerable consensus identified monuments of Sesostris was Ionia (n. II, 106, 5). In that instance they have demonstrably confused Hittite and Eg. monuments. These martial-looking sculptures and others like them had been accessible and presumably known to Gks. for centuries before Eg. propagandists extended Sesostris' conquests into Asia Minor and beyond (late 6th Century B.C.). Once the latter development had taken place, nothing could be easier than to connect them with the legendary Eg. conqueror and that, in turn, would lead the more careful observers to scrutinize them for indications of the king's victorious progress. In this light many of the religious symbols and Hieroglyphic signs occurring on such reliefs could easily have been interpreted both as male and female sex organs and given the necessary symbolic significance (cf. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, II, p. 1003, fig. 699; Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures*, fig. 611; Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, pl. 359; Alkim, *Anatolia*, I, pl. 108 ff., 115; cf. Beran, *Die*

hethitische Glyptik von Bogazkoy, pl. 12 ff. for cognate sealing-motifs). Once the pudenda had been established as the major iconographic feature of Sesostris' monuments by some such process as this, it would be relatively easy for parallels to be extracted from any likely-looking antiquities which inquisitive Gks. might encounter, irrespective of whether archaeological criteria ought to have indicated that a monument was Egyptian, Hittite, Assyrian, Phoenician or any of several other possibilities.

103. ἐς δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας... τοὺς Θρήικας: Cf. Manetho, *FgrH* 609, F.2, 3a-b, p. 30 ff.; D.S., I, 55, 4 ff., adding the Cyclades for good measure; Str., XV, 1, 6(C686-7); Plin., *HN* XXXIII, 52; Valerius Flaccus, *Arg* V, 418 ff.; Justin, I, 1, 6; II, 3, 8. There are doublets in the *logos* of Tearcon's invasion of Europe (Str., XV, 1, 6(C686)) and in accounts of the conquests of Sethos and Ramses (Manetho, op. cit., F. 9, 98 ff.; Tac., *Ann* II, 60). The source of this elements is evidently Eg. nationalist propaganda (Introductory n. II, 102-110). Sesostris' conquests in Europe do not simply keep pace with those of Darius; since he conquered the Scythians, he is even made to succeed where the latter had conspicuously failed (H., IV, 1 ff.).

ἐς τούτους δέ μοι... τὸ δὲ προσωτέρω τούτων οὐκέτι: *gnōmē* (Introduction, pp. 81 ff., 162 ff.). The inference might be based on stelae or even statues observed in the areas in question but more probably it is founded on a circular process something like the following: according to the Egs. Sesostris had conquered Thracians and Scythians; he was in the habit of erecting stelae to commemorate victories (II, 102); such stelae will, therefore, have occurred in Thracia and Scythia. If the tradition had developed to this point by the time H. began work, he could well have regarded the presence of such stelae in Thracia and Scythia (and nowhere else in Europe) as established fact, even if there was not a shred of evidence to justify the idea.

ἐπεὶτε ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Φάσι ποταμῷ: D.S. says the Tanais (I, 55, 4). The disparity arises from a difference of opinion on the boundary between Europe and Asia (on which vide n. II, 16). Both authors imagine Sesostris as returning to Asia by marching around the N. of the Black Sea.

104. φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ἔοντες οἱ Κόλχοι Αἰγύπτιοι: Cf. D.S., I, 28; 55, 4 ff.; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, 8, 24; Schol. ad Ap. Rh., IV, 277; Avien., *Perieg* 874; Tzetzes, *Ad Lyc* 887. This tradition is the first clear trace of a notion destined to become a commonplace. In the 3rd Century B.C. we find Istrus composing an *Αἰγυπτίων ἀποικίαι* (*FgrH* 334, F. 43-6) and by D.S.'s time it had become an elaborate tradition that, after the Dynasties of the Gods (Introduction, p. 186), the Egs. had dispatched colonies all over the world (I, 28; 29, 5). D.S. (I, 28) makes the origin of this notion quite clear, viz. cultural similarities were observed between the Egs. and the nations in question and the inference was then made that Eg. colonists were respon-

sible (for such hyper-diffusionist doctrines vide Introduction, p. 147 ff.). In the present instance H. invokes physical, cultural and linguistic parallelisms (vide infra). It should, however, be noted that the connection between Egypt and Colchis may be an idea of some antiquity since, according to Hec. (*FgrH* I, F. 18a), the Argonauts return from Colchis via the Nile. It should also be noted that the tradition of Sesostris' connection with Colchis has a curious correlate in the notion that he had once been conquered by the Colchian Saulaces (Plin., *HN* XXXIII, 52).

νοήσας δὲ... λέγω: On the structure of the argument vide Introduction, p. 161; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 420 ff. Given the tenor of the Gk. it is not perhaps quite certain that H. acquired this information in Colchis itself (cf. however Armayor, *HSCP* 82(1978), p. 57 ff.).

μελάγχροές εἰσι καὶ οὐλότριχες: Argument 1. Physical anthropology: "...they are dark-skinned and curly haired". Note H.'s caution in developing the point (Introduction, p. 161). Despite the efforts of Armayor (op. cit., p. 58) and English (*JNES* 18(1959), p. 49 ff.), there is no linguistic justification for relating this description to negroes. *Melanchroes* could denote any colour from bronzed to black (*LSJ* p. 1094, b) and negroes are not the only physical type to show curly hair. These characteristics would certainly be found in many Egs., ancient and modern, but they are at variance with what we should expect amongst the inhabitants of the Caucasus area. To Hippocrates the Phasians of Colchis were sallow (*ōchros*) (*Aer* 15) whilst the complexions of the modern Georgian population have been described as "fair, sallow or ruddy" (Lang, *The Georgians*, p. 19). On the other hand, the Arab geographer Istakhri describes an element of the Khazar people dwelling E. of the Caucasus from at least the 6th Century A.D. "as if they were a kind of Indians" (Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, p. 96). Admittedly, this evidence relates to a period much later than H. but it seems not impossible that there is some connection between such a group and H.'s Colchians. This situation, combined with our inadequate knowledge of the ethnic composition of Colchians in the 5th Century, suggests that we should not dismiss H.'s description out of hand and that he, or his sources, may well have generalized from a section in the population which happened to show physical characteristics reminiscent of the Egs. and, therefore, provided some measure of support for the theory of the Eg. origin of the Colchians as a whole.

ὅτι μούνοι... τὰ αἰδοῖα: Argument 2. For circumcision in Egypt and Ethiopia vide n. II, 36, 3. As for Colchis, the only indications that H. is right are:

- (a) The area and its people were evidently well known to the Gks. (cf. Hp., *Aer* XV). We should, therefore, expect them to get such a detail right.

(b) The Colchians may have been related to the Sherden/Shardana of Sea-Peoples fame (Introduction, p. 6):

1. The Bronze Age inhabitants of the Caucasus possessed armaments similar to those of the Sherden.
2. Bronze and copper statuettes from Sardinia, probably the place where the Sherden ultimately settled, closely resemble figures discovered in the Caucasus.

Since the Sherden themselves practised circumcision (*BAR* III, § 588 ~Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, IV, 8, 52), these archaeological pointers, if such they are, would suggest that the custom was indeed known in the Caucasus area. For further details see Hall, *Klio* 22 (1929), p. 335 ff.; Gardiner, *AEO* I, p. 199*.

Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Σύριοι... καὶ Παρθένιον: Circumcision was common amongst early Semitic peoples (Barton, *HERE* III, p. 679). The claim that Egypt was the *fons et origo* will be nothing more than *post hoc ergo propter* in a hyper-diffusionist garb (Introduction, p. 147 ff.).

Φοίνικες: For the linking of Egs. and Phoenicians as circumcised peoples cf. Ar., *Av* 505 ff.

Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ: Cf. H., I, 105; II, 106; III, 5, 91; IV, 39; VII, 89. *Palaistinē Syriē* extended from Phoenicia to the border of Gaza (III, 5; cf. VII, 89). H.'s ethnic will, therefore, apply largely to the Jews. To judge from *Genesis* 34, 15, circumcision was not universal in the area but Jews and Egs. are linked as practitioners in *Josh* 5, 2 ff. H.'s claim is subsequently developed to the point where Eusebius can speak of an Eg. colony in Syria (*PE* X, 10, 15; for the *apoikia* doctrine vide supra, p. 21).

Σύριοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Θερμῶνδοντα ποταμὸν καὶ Παρθένιον: Cf. I, 6, 72, 76; V, 49; VII, 63 (possibly). From these texts it emerges that the term *Syrioi* was, amongst other things, a Gk. and Persian name for Cappadocians and that they were located to the E. of the Phrygians in the bend of the Halys extending as far S. as Cilicia and eastwards to the Armenians. Other Classical sources use the terms *Leukosyroi*, *Syroi* and *Assyroi* indifferently of the inhabitants of this area (e.g. Ps. Scyl., 89 ~ *GGM* I, p. 66; Ps. Scymn., 941 ff. ~ *GGM* I, p. 236; D.P., 772 ~ *GGM* II, p. 153; Str., XII, 3, 5(C542); 8-9(C543-4); Ruge, *RE* XII, 2291 ff.). Since this position brings them into immediate proximity to the S.E. both with Syria-Palestine and Assyria proper and since the Assyrians were also called *Syroi* by the Gks. (H., VII, 63), we are confronted with a wedge of peoples who might be designated *Syroi* in Classical texts in an area covering Syria and Assyria and extending across the Taurus through the middle of Asia Minor as far as the Black Sea. The Anatolian "*Syroi*" must have been pre-eminently the descendants of the Indo-European Muški, Kaška and Tabalians who dominated the relevant

area after the collapse of the Hittite Empire (Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, p. 73 ff.; Goetze, *Kleinasiens*, pp. 178, 201 ff.; Barnett, *CAH*³ II, 2, p. 420 ff. who described them (p. 427) as E. Phrygians or Moscho-Tabalians).

There are several problems here:

1. What is the reason for the fluidity of this ethnic? Its application to the Assyrians of Upper Tigris is easily explained as phonetic confusion but how does it get extended to people in Asia Minor? The explanation might simply be the vague geographical knowledge available to the Gks. on the resumption of close contact with the Near East in the 8th Century B.C. but there are several other factors which might have encouraged such a development:
 - (a) Close commercial relations were maintained between Asia Minor, Assyria and Syria from an early period (Goetze, *op. cit.*, p. 76 ff.). In particular, during the early 8th Century, when a Gk. trading post was established at Al-Mina on the coast of N. Syria, a brisk trade passed between Urartu in the extreme E. of Asia Minor through Syria to the Mediterranean coast (Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*², p. 38 ff.). Such conditions might have encouraged Gks. to use the most readily available ethnic, viz. *Syroi*, for all the peoples of the Upper Tigris and Euphrates as well as E. Asia Minor.
 - (b) Neo-Hittite cities were to be found until the very end of the 8th Century from S. Cappadocia to the borders of Palestine (Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 39 ff.). This situation could have facilitated the transference of the ethnic *Syroi* N. of the Taurus.
 - (c) During the 8th and 7th Centuries the Assyrians exercised control over most of the Near East and, from time to time, over parts of E. Asia Minor (Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, p. 272 ff.; Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 364 ff.). Since they could be called *Syroi*, it is possible that the wide use of this ethnic has its origin in conditions obtaining at the height of the Assyrian Empire.
2. Why should H. single out the *Syroi* περὶ Θερμῶδοντα ποταμὸν καὶ Παρθένιον? Are we to assume that circumcision was practised only by those inhabiting these two widely separated areas? Since the two rivers appear to be the western and eastern boundaries of Syrian territory respectively it seems more reasonable to assume that H. is providing little more than a general geographical fix and expects his readers to understand "the *Syroi* in the vicinity of the R. Thermôdôn and Parthenius <and between>".

The practice of circumcision amongst people of unequivocally Indo-European speech is surprising (n. II, 36, 3) but it would be even more surprising if H. were wrong since the Gks. must have been very familiar with the area. Perhaps the custom was taken over, along with much else, from an older cultural stratum which might, in turn, have derived it from Semitic sources. At all events, it is worth remembering that mutilation of the

genitals was one of the distinctive features of Anatolian religion (Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 436).

Θερμώδοντα: Cf. Hec., *FgrH* I, F. 7a; Pherecyd., *op. cit.*, 3, F. 15. Mod. Terme Tshai to the E. of the ancient city of Themiscyra. It marked the frontier between the *Syroi/Assyroi* and the Chalybes to the E. (Ps. Scyl., 89 ~ *GGM* I, p. 66; Dionysius Periegetes, 975 ~ *GGM* II, p. 164; Priscian, *Periegesis*, 746 ff. ~ *GGM* II, p. 196; Ruge, *RE* VA, 2, 2395 ff.).

καὶ Παρθένιον: Cf. Ps. Scymn., 968 ff. ~ *GGM* I, p. 237; Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 19 ff.; Anonym., *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 13 ff.; Mela, I, 104; mod. Bartinsu debouching into the Black Sea between Tieum and Sesamus. Str. confirms the presence of "Syrians" (*Leukosyroi*) at this point (XII, 3, 5(C542)).

καὶ Μάκρωνες οἱ τούτοισι ἀστυγείτονες ἔόντες: Cf. III, 94; VII, 8. Alternative names are *Makrokephaloi* (Ps. Scyl., 85 ~ *GGM* I, p. 63; Hp., *Aer* 14), *Makropōgōnes* (Str., XI, 2, 1(C492)), *Markies* (Ap. Rh., I, 1024 with Schol. ad. loc.) and *Sannoi* (St. Byz., s.v. *Makrōnes*). Since they were mentioned by Hec. (*FgrH* I, F. 206), it is probable that H. owes some of his knowledge to him (Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, p. 69 ff.). H.'s location is generally confirmed by Ps. Scyl. (l.c.), Xenophon (*An* IV, 8, 1 ff.), Str. (XII, 3, 18(C548)) and Schol. ad Ap. Rh. (II, 392 ff., 1015) who all place them around or above Trapezus to the E. of the Chalybes. There is no way of confirming from Classical sources H.'s claim that they practised circumcision but two considerations inspire confidence:

- (a) The N. coast of Asia Minor was well known to the Gks. H. is, therefore, not likely to be wrong.
- (b) The assertion fits in with H.'s general picture of an enclave of people distinguished by circumcision to the S. and E. of the Black Sea. In view of the turbulent history of Asia Minor and the area to the N.E. such anomalous pockets would not be surprising.

105. λίνον μούννοι οὗτοί τε... κατὰ ταῦτά: Argument 3. Presumably they both used the double-beamed vertical loom (n. II, 35, 2).

ἡ ζόη πᾶσα: Argument 4. "The entire mode of life" was a major preoccupation of early Gk. ethnography (Introduction, p. 167 ff.). Our knowledge of ancient Colchis is not profound but the only obvious similarity is that between the mode of life of the Phasis river-dwellers (Hp., *Aer* XV) and that of the inhabitants of the Nile Delta (cf. nn. II, 92-4). This would, however, have been quite enough to create the general impression described by H.

ἡ γλῶσσα: Argument 5. Probably H.'s claim was based on nothing more

than a similarity of sound between one or two of the few Eg. and Colchian words that he or his sources knew (Introduction, p. 161 ff.).

Σαρδονικόν: Pollux mentions four types of linen: *Aigyption*, *Phasianikon*, *Karchēdonion* and *Sardanion* (Sardian) and proceeds to gloss our passage: 'Ἡρόδοτος δὲ τὸ Φασιανόν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ Κολχιδόν, ὕφ' Ἑλλήνων Σαρδονικόν καλεῖσθαι λέγει (V, 26). Str. also speaks of the ancient fame of Colchian linen, asserting that it used to be an export of the country (XI, 2, 17(C498)). The adjective *Sardonikos* perplexes. We can safely discount any *direct* reference to Sardinia because H.'s ethnic for "Sardinian" is *Sardonios*. Since, however, there is reason to suspect that the Bronze-Age Sherden had connections with the Colchis area (n. II, 104), it seems possible that *Sardonikos* reflects a Colchian place-name which preserved the memory of their erstwhile presence there.

106. τὰς δὲ στήλας... βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις: Vide n. II, 102, 4 ff.

ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ... γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα: Kenrick (*The Egypt of Herodotus*, p. 136 ff.), How-Wells (*Commentary*, I, p. 219) *et al.* claim that H. means the monuments of Ramesses II and Esarhaddon at Nahr el-Kelb (LD III, pl. 197) but this seems improbable; for the site lies N. of Beirut in Phoenicia whereas for H. *Palaistinē Syriē* began S. of the Phoenician border (n. II, 104). If H.'s memory does not play him false, he will be referring to similar monuments to be found in his time further to the S.

εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην... ἐς Σμύρνην: This has been interpreted in two ways:

- (a) H. is speaking of two Hittite reliefs situated at a point where the Ephesus-Phocaea and Sardis-Smyrna roads cross, a spot which is claimed to be the Karabel Pass between the Hermus and Cayster Plains (e.g. Wiedemann, *Kommentar*, p. 415; How-Wells, l.c.).
- (b) H. is referring to *one* of the statues at Karabel and another unknown (Friedrich, *AIPhO* 5(1937), p. 383 ff.):
 1. *Περὶ Ἰωνίην* ought to mean "around and about Ionia", i.e. "at different places in", not simply "in Ionia" (*LSJ* p. 1366, b, s.v. C4; Kenrick, *op. cit.*, p. 137; Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 387).
 2. The details of the main relief do not correspond to those in H.'s description though those of the damaged second relief *might* have done (Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 387 ff.; vide *infra*).
 3. The clauses *τῇ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίδης... ἐς Σμύρνην* need not denote a point of intersection (cf. Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 386 ff.). They might mean "at a point on the road where one travels from Ephesian territory to Phocaea *and* at a point on the road where they travel from Sardis to Smyrna", i.e. two separate places.

Argument (b)2 could be explained as a lapse of memory. (b)3 *may* be

correct but the passage, by itself, is too loosely constructed for the meaning to be certain. (b)1, on the other hand, seems unshakeable. We must, therefore, accept that H. is talking about two different sites, one at Karabel on the Ephesus–Phocaea road, the other somewhere along the road from Sardis to Smyrna.

ἐκατέρωθι δὲ ἀνὴρ... δεδήλωκε: Cf. D.S., I, 55, 9. Since the details do not correspond to those of the Karabel reliefs (vide infra), H. is either hopelessly confused or he is describing the other and unknown sculpture.

μέγαθος πέμπτης σπιθαμῆς: i.e. c. 1.30 m. D.S. (l.c.) describes it as τῷ μεγέθει τέτταρσι παλαισταῖς μείζον τῶν τεττάρων πηχῶν, i.e. c. 2.40 m. The latter is very close to the height of the figure in the main relief (2.30 m.). The former, however, is closer to that of the second relief near the road (2.08 m.).

τῇ μὲν δεξιῇ χειρὶ ἔχων αἰχμήν: Cf. D.S., l.c. The figure in both the Karabel reliefs holds a lance in the *left* hand (Spiegelberg, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit*, p. 24, fig. 3; Friedrich, op. cit., p. 383 ff.).

τῇ δὲ ἀριστερῇ τόξα: Cf. D.S., l.c. In the main relief it is carried on the *right* shoulder. The upper part of the second is now destroyed but, according to tradition, it was similar to the other (Friedrich, l.c.).

καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σκευὴν ὡσαύτως: The figure on the main relief wears a short tunic, pointed cap and shoes with pointed toes (l.c.).

ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὤμου... ἐγκεκολαμμένα: There is no inscription in this position on the main relief, though there is a badly weathered and illegible text in Hittite hieroglyphs cut boustrophedon between the head and the lance (Friedrich, op.cit., pp. 384, 387 ff.). Inscriptions in the position described by H. are, however, exemplified in Asia Minor (Schäfer–Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*², pp. 532 ff., 540).

ἐγὼ... ἐκτησάμην: The sentiment can be paralleled in Hittite inscriptions (Friedrich, op. cit., p. 389) but a Hittite source for H.'s text is out of the question since the script was surely indecipherable in his time. Clearly we are confronted with a Gk. invention based on the most obvious oriental precedents, viz. Achaemenid royal inscriptions (cf. the Kabret Stele where Darius I affirms: "I am a Persian. With the Persians I took Egypt", Scheil, *Rev. d'Assyr.* 27(1930), p. 97). For a similar fabrication vide H., III, 88 (Friedrich, *Welt als Geschichte* 2(1936), p. 107 ff.).

δοῖς δὲ καὶ ὁκόθεν... δεδήλωκε: Cf. II, 102, 4.

μετεξέτεροι: The use of this word implies that H. was by no means alone in attributing the monument to Sesostris. Probably the notion evolved at the end of the 6th Century—beginning of the 5th (cf. Introductory n. II, 102-110).

Μέμνωνος εικόνα: The evolution of the Memnon-tradition can probably be reconstructed as follows: his name “the Steadfast” (Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, II, p. 209, or “Valiant One”, *LSJ* p. 1101, a, s.v., with p. 804, b, s.v. *θρασυμέμνων*) and the emphasis on warfare and military equipment which is basic to his legend (Hom., *Od* IV, 187 ff.; Hes., *Th* 984 ff. described at *χαλκοκορυστής*; Arctinus, *Aethiopsis* ~ Evelyn-White, *Hesiod*, p. 506 ff., where his *panoplia* is stated to have been made by Hephaestus himself; Q.S., II, *passim*) suggest that he was probably, in origin, simply an embodiment of the heroic warrior. The association with flashing brazen armour will be the source of the tradition of his great beauty (e.g. *Od* l.c.) and will have led to the connection with Eos “the Dawn” who becomes his mother (l.c. *et al.*). That, in turn, connected him with E. and S.E. so that he becomes the King of the Ethiopians (Arctinus, l.c. *et al.*). *Memnoneia* are then sought, and found, in many parts of the oriental world, e.g. Susa (H., V, 54, 2; VII, 151) and Egypt (Str., XVII, 1 42(C813); 46(C815-6); Gardiner, *JEA* 47 (1961), p. 91 ff.; Introduction, p. 121). Gk. writers subsequently availed themselves of the ample opportunities for contamination with the Osymandias tradition (e.g. Str., XVII, 1, 42(C813)). The reasons for connecting such a figure with Hittite monuments in W. Asia Minor will be self-evident.

Bibliography: Preller-Robert, *GrM⁴* I, p. 442 ff.; Holland in Roscher, *ML* II, 2653 ff.; Pley, *RE* XV, 1, 638 ff.; *EAA* IV, p. 999 ff.; v. Geisau, *KP* III, 1189 ff.; Clark-Coulson, *Museum Helveticum* 35(1978), p. 65 ff.

107. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σέσωστρον ... τῷ πατρί: Cf. D.S. (I, 55, 10; 57, 6 ff.) and Manetho (*FgrH* 609, F. 9, 98 ff.) for an amplified version. It is possible to isolate several components in this strange tale:

- (a) The aetiological element. The germ of the *logos* probably lies in the monuments described in II, 110, i.e. we are confronted with a *Monument-nouvelle* (Introductory nn. 99-182; cf. Spiegelberg, *Klio* 19 (1925), p. 101 ff.).
- (b) The historical element. Palace revolts were endemic in the ancient Near East and common in Pharaonic Egypt (Sethe, *Sesostris*, p. 20 ff.; Malaise, *CdE* 41(1966), p. 267). Since Sesostris I, one of the Eg. prototypes of Sesostris, was actually forced to cope with the aftermath of a conspiracy which led to the death of his father Amenemhêt I, it is possible that historical fact has played some part in the genesis of the tale.
- (c) The *Märchen* element. We are faced with several folk-motifs: the treacherous brother (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, K2211)—this is parti-

cularly important in Egypt because it is the bed-rock on which the myth of Osiris and Seth is based (cf. de Rochemonteix, *RT* 8(1886), p. 192 ff.; Sethe, *op. cit.*, p. 20 ff.); the fire-motif (Thompson, *op. cit.*, H1199.10 which involved jumping over fire; cf. F848.4 and S12.2.2)—there is a parallel, probably a derivative, in the *Life of Pythagoras* in which the philosopher gets out of a burning house over the bodies of two of his pupils (Hallo, *Klio* 19(1925), p. 472 ff.); son-saves-father motif (Thompson, *op. cit.*, R154.2 & 3; H1162.2); the *fête fatale* (n. II, 100; Maspero, *Journal des Savants* 1901, p. 604, n. 1).

Few will be convinced by Wainwright's efforts to turn the murder attempt into a fertility sacrifice (*JEA* 27(1941), p. 138 ff.; *The Sky-Religion in Egypt*, p. 47 ff.).

ἐν Δάφνησι τῇσι Πηλουσίησι: Tell Defenneh (n. II, 30, 2; Introduction, p. 17).

108-9. Sesostri's peaceful achievements which are considerably amplified in D.S. (I, 56) and elsewhere (Malaise, *CdE* 41 (1966), p. 267 ff.). The narrative is based on two closely related and largely inseparable phenomena: the concept of the ideal Pharaoh (Introductory n. II, 102-110) and the folk-motif of the culture hero (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, A510 ff.) who appears in many parts of the world engaged in such activities as the establishment of law and order (A530), customs (A545), social systems (A546) and the regulation of rivers (A533 ff.).

108. τῷ μὲν ὀμίλῳ... τάδε ἐχρήσατο: Cf. D.S., I, 56, 2 ff., in greater detail. The practice was common in Ancient Egypt: Senwosret I, a contributor to the Sesostri legend, brought back captives from Libya (Gardiner, *Middle-Egyptian Stories*, p. 4 ff. ~ Simpson (Ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, p. 59); Senwosret III, another contributor, drove home a rich haul of prisoners from Nubia in Regnal Year 16 (Sethe, *Lesestücke*, p. 84, l. 9 ff. ~ *BAR* I, §657); Ay settled Hittite prisoners-of-war at Memphis in "Field of the Hittites" (Daressy, *RT* 16(1894), p. 123; Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 179); Ramesses III meted out similar treatment to the prisoners obtained in his Sea-Peoples and Libyan campaigns (*P. Harris*, I, 76, 6 ff. ~ *BAR* IV, §403 ff.). Consequently we are not obliged to regard this ingredient as a specific reminiscence of the reign of Ramesses II (as does Lange, *Sesostri*, p. 41, n. 10; cf. Sethe, *Sesostri*, p. 21). Indeed, the custom was also known in Gk. heroic society (Hom., *Od* XIV, 271 ff.; XVII, 440 ff.), a situation which provides an additional possible source of contamination.

τούς τέ οἱ λίθους... οἱ ἐλκύσαντες: Cf. II, 110. D.S. speaks of a far-reaching policy of temple building (I, 56, 2). This tradition is based on two ingredients:

(a) The two major historical figures lurking behind Sesostri were both

great builders. To name only a few sites, Senwosret I was active at Karnak, Abydos, Herakleopolis, Crocodilonpolis, Coptos and Heliopolis (Sethe, *Sesostris*, p. 21 ff.; Kees, *RE* IIA, 1873 ff.; Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri Kahun*, p. 1 ff.; Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, I, p. 86 ff.; Vandier, *Manuel*, II, 2, p. 1061 ff.; *PM* Royal Indexes s.v.) and Senwosret III at Medamud, Khatana, Tanis, Bubastis, Leontopolis, Crocodilonpolis and Herakleopolis (Vandier, op. cit., p. 1062; *PM* Royal Indexes, s.v.).

- (b) Temple-building was one of Pharaoh's traditional functions. He alone was empowered to carry out the foundation-ritual of "the Stretching of the Cord" (*pd šs*) (Moret, *Le Caractère Religieux de la Royauté Pharaonique*, p. 130 ff.; v. Bissing, *Re Heiligtum. Untersuchungen*, p. 1 ff.; Blackman-Fairman, *JEA* 32(1946), p. 75 ff.; Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 264 ff.). It was, therefore, an important element in the concept of the ideal king of which Sesostris is a clear embodiment (Introductory n. II, 102–110).

Normally the labour on such projects was carried out by Egs. called up on *corvée* (n. II, 124).

ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρόν: i.e. the Temple of Ptah at Memphis (n. II, 2, 5).

μεγάθει περιμήκειας: "...huge in bulk". Powell has suggested that *περιμήκειας* means "very tall" and that the *lithoi* were obelisks (*CQ* 29(1935), p. 75). He is almost certainly wrong for several reasons:

- (a) In H., where it is possible to be sure, the meaning is "large in bulk" (the context proves this for the sphinxes of II, 175 and the anchors of VII, 36). These parallels suggest that the meaning in our passage and II, 100, will be the same.
- (b) The qualification *μεγάθει* strongly supports (a) (cf. H., I, 98; II, 10, 44; III, 102, 107).
- (c) *Μῆκος* is exemplified in the sense "bulk, volume" (Emp., *DK* 31, F. 119; S., *Ant* 393).

καὶ τὰς διώρυχας... ὥρυξαν: Cf. II, 137, 4; D.S., I, 57, 2 ff., who confines the operation to the Delta. There are probably three factors contributing to H.'s tradition:

- (a) The XIIth Dyn., to which Sesostris' historical prototypes belonged, was particularly interested in land-reclamation and related schemes (n. II, 149). Note also that Senwosret III cut canals through the First Cataract area (Sethe, *Lesestücke*, p. 85 ~ *BAR* I, §642 ff.).
- (b) The trait has affinities in folk-lore where the culture-hero is sometimes described as regulating water-courses (vide supra).
- (c) The digging of canals was one of the canonical duties of the ideal Eg. king since the welfare of the country depended upon it (*P. Harris*, I, 79, 10 ff. ~ *BAR* IV, §412; nn. II, 13, 99). As early as the late Pre-dynastic

Period the alleged king Scorpion is represented on a mace-head probably engaged in the ceremonial opening of a canal (Vandier, op. cit., I, 1, p. 600 ff.).

τὸ πρῖν ἐοῦσαν ἱππασίμην ... παντοίους τρόπους ἔχουσαι: At first sight historically startling but such a notion fits in well with Eg. concepts of kingship. At one level each Pharaoh is regarded as the creator-god who re-enacts at his accession and throughout his reign the creative rôle of the demiurge (cf. the description of Amenemhêt I in the great inscription of Khnumhotpe II at Beni Hasan, de Buck, *Reading Book*, p. 68 ~ *BAR* I, §625, and that of Ramesses III of the XXth Dyn. in *P. Harris*, I, 75, 1 ff. ~ *BAR* IV, §397 ff.). As the incarnation of Hôrus, each Pharaoh is, in a sense, the *first* Pharaoh and can speak of himself as being the first to accomplish acts which were regarded as typical of a king (Introductory n. 102–110). Thus Hâtshepsut can describe her Punt expedition as a visit to a land “which had never been trodden, the ‘myrrh’-terraces, which people did not know” (de Buck, op. cit., p. 49 ff. ~ *BAR* II, §286 ff.), though many are known to have preceded her (Säve-Söderbergh, *The Navy of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty*, p. 16 ff.). *A fortiori* could such statements be made of Sesostris since he is, in essence, the embodiment of the ideal Pharaoh. Consequently, far from suggesting a non-Eg., or, at least, an uninformed source, H.’s statement can be taken to point to a theologically impeccable priestly tradition (cf. Introduction, p. 89 ff.).

ἱππασίμην: An anachronism since the horse did not appear in Egypt until the Second Intermediate Period (c. 1786–1570 B.C.) some time after the collapse of the XIIth Dyn. to which Sesostris’ historical prototypes belonged.

ἀμαξευομένην: “It might be considered surprising that no wheeled vehicle except the chariot is represented in the hundreds of scenes on tomb walls which portray the daily life of the dynastic Egyptians, especially since the Nile mud can be made into an ideal surface for wheeled traffic. It must be remembered, however, that, even today, the fellah makes very little use of carts, and many villages in Egypt cannot be approached even on a bicycle. Until quite recently there was no road between successive capitals of provinces in Upper Egypt. The Nile was the highway of Egypt, and the donkey the universal means of transport for light goods over short distances” (Clarke–Engelbach, *Ancient Eg. Masonry*, p. 88). Intriguingly enough, when chariots and horses were introduced into the country, they were usually loaded onto ships when it was necessary to move them from one area to another (Decker, *Die physische Leistung*, p. 241).

κατέταμνε ... ἐκ φρεάτων χρεώμενοι: D.S. (I, 57, 2) gives three quite different reasons, viz. to facilitate the collection of crops, improve commun-

ications and, most important of all, to make the country easier to defend. H.'s explanation reflects current medical interest in water as a significant factor in health (Hp., *Aer* VII).

πλατυτέροισι: "rather salty, brackish" (cf. Arist., *Mete* II, 3(358a-b)). Describing *πηγαῖα ὕδατα*, which would include those from wells, Hippocrates writes: *ὅκόσα δέ ἐστιν ἀλυκὰ καὶ ἀτέραμνα καὶ σκληρά, ταῦτα μὲν πάντα πίνειν οὐκ ἀγαθὰ* (l.c.), the reason being that they are conducive to constipation. Rain, on the other hand, the source of Nile water (Introductory n. II, 19-27), produces good water (l.c.).

109. κατανεῖμαι ... κατ' ἐνιαυτόν: Cf. D.S., I, 54, 2 ff. (with predictable elaboration!). Aristotle (*Pol* VII, 10(1329b); cf. D.S., I, 94, 4; Schol. ad Ap. Rh., IV, 272 ff.) also ascribes to Sesostris the subdivision into castes (on which vide nn. II, 164-8).

Several factors have presumably contributed to H.'s tradition:

- (a) The concept of the state-ownership of property. In Pharaonic Egypt all land belonged in principle to the king. Institutions and individuals only enjoyed the usufruct. Certainly both are found at all periods functioning as *de facto* owners but this does not impair the theoretical supremacy of the monarch (Kees, *Ägypten*, p. 42 ff.; cf. Seidl, *Einführung*, p. 46 ff.; id., *Äg. Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit*², p. 56 ff.). H.'s picture of Sesostris dispensing land to his subjects in exchange for taxes harmonizes perfectly with this situation.
- (b) Such a rôle in the organization of communities is attributed to culture-heroes in folk-lore (vide supra, p. 29).
- (c) Senwosret III completely reorganized Eg. provincial administration by stripping the feudal nobility (nomarchs) of their power and concentrating it in the hands of the central government. The precise details of the new system are debatable (Drioton-Vandier, *L'Egypte*⁴, pp. 253 ff., 301 ff.; Hayes, *CAH*³ I, 2, p. 505 ff.) but such activities, the results of which were permanent, may well have contributed something to the Sesostris legend.

κλήρον ἴσον ἐκάστω τετράγωνον διδόντα: H.'s emphasis on equality will reflect Gk. political ideals (cf. H., V, 78; Arist., *Pol* III, V, 9(1280a); V, II, 1 ff.(1302a); Ps. Arist., *Ath* 11 ff.; Pl., *R* VIII, 16(566a); D.S., XVII, 15). Certainly no Eg. king would have proceeded on such a basis and no Eg. source would have expected him to do so. Throughout the Pharaonic period, land-occupation operated in much the same way as in Ptol. times, i.e. there were two types of land: (a) royal estates worked directly by the crown (Ptol. *basilikē gē*); (b) land leased to institutions, e.g. temples (Ptol. *hiera gē*), or individuals, whether they be officials or private citizens (Ptol. *idioktētos gē*). Evidently, in the latter case subletting on various terms would be common. The status of the bulk of the people within such a system might

be that of a slave, serf, landless labourer, independent occupier or, apparently at all periods, *de facto* owner (Kees, *op. cit.*, p. 39 ff.; Seidl, *l.c.*). Probably the Eg. source insisted on the precision and justice, not the equality, of Sesostri's land distribution, i.e. it asserted that he inaugurated the Pharaonic procedure for land-allotment according to which plots were carefully delimited with boundary stelae (often bearing the name of the owner and the date of acquisition) and all relevant information, including such details as the name of neighbours, the appearance and nature of the land, the incidence of sand, marshes, pools, canals and trees, was carefully recorded and deposited in treasury archives (Hartmann, *L'Agriculture dans Ancienne Egypte*, p. 94 ff.; Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, I-IV; Helck, *Verwaltung*, p. 138 ff.).

καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου... κατ' ἐνιαυτόν: This, as far as it goes, squares with Eg. custom. The two most important taxes were the tax on livestock (levied on annual increase in herds and flocks and as fees paid to the state for the hire of draught animals) and a harvest tax (*šmw*) varying, in the N.K., between 3 and 10 bushels per aroura ($\frac{2}{3}$ acre) according to the quality of the land. The state also took a percentage of the proceeds of all other economic activities, including fowling, hunting and fishing. In the absence of money all imposts were paid in kind, the total amounting, according to *Genesis*, 47, 26, to $\frac{1}{5}$ of Egypt's annual product. In general see Kees, *op. cit.*, p. 22 ff.; Helck, *op. cit.*, p. 138 ff.; Hayes, *CAH*³ II, 1, p. 381 ff.

εἰ δέ τις τοῦ κλήρου... γέγονε: Both H. and Str. (XVII, 1, 3(C787)) are talking quite generally of Egypt as a whole (*pace* Lyons who attempts to confine H.'s remarks to *hōd el-gezīrah* land immediately adjacent to the river (*JEA* 12(1926), p. 242 ff.)). Land was surveyed every year by "scribes of fields" to ensure that the cadastral records were kept up-to-date (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, pl. 284; Borchardt, *ZÄS* 42(1905), p. 70 ff.; Berger, *JEA* 20(1934), p. 54 ff.; Helck, *op. cit.*, p. 139 ff.). As H. and Str. claim, this custom was made necessary by the effects of the inundation.

ὅπως τοῦ λοιποῦ κατὰ λόγον ... τελέοι: Although some texts paint a black picture of the fate of the Eg. peasant confronted with the tax-gatherer (e.g. Caminos, *LEM* p. 247), remittance of taxes when times were hard is often mentioned in tomb-biographies (e.g. Griffith, *Siût*, pl. V, 5 ff.; Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, pl. VIII, 21) and is actually exemplified for the N.K. by the cases of Mehu and Amenmose of *P. Louvre*, 3171, the former of whom was allowed to hold over a deficit of 86 *har*-sacks, whilst the latter was not only allowed to hold over 599 $\frac{1}{4}$ sacks but actually given a loan of 80 by the government (Gardiner, *JEA* 27(1941), p. 19 ff.). There is, therefore, no doubt whatsoever that H.'s statement, which doubtless derived from Egyptian sources, corresponds to the Eg. ideal of the just administrator.

δοκέει δέ μοι... ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν: Cf. D.S., I, 69, 5; 81, 3; 94, 3 (where *Sasychis* refers to *Sesostris*); Arist., *Metaph* I, 1(981b); Eudem., Fr. 133 (Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, VIII, claiming that Thales brought it); Hero, *Geom* 2 (Heiberg, p. 176); Str., XVI, 2, 24(C757); XVII, 1, 3(C788); Clem. Al., *Strom* I, 74, 2. It is probable that all derive ultimately from H. who, in turn, simply based himself on *post hoc ergo propter hoc* (cf. Heath, *History of Gk. Mathematics*, I, p.121). In fact, the science of geometry in the strict sense was invented by the Gks.; for the interest of neither Egs. nor Babylonians transcended purely practical considerations (Taton (Ed.), *Ancient and Medieval Science*, p. 29 ff.; Heath, op. cit., p. 118 ff.; Neugebauer, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der antiken mathematischen Wissenschaften*, I, *Vorgriechische Mathematik*², pp. 121 ff., 166 ff.; vide general Introduction, p. 147 ff.).

πόλον μὲν γὰρ καὶ γνῶμονα... οἱ Ἕλληνες: Powell claims that this section is interpolated (CR 54(1940), p. 69 ff.—an idea as old as Krüger (1855)). The arguments are:

- (a) After H. sundials are not mentioned until the Hellenistic Period and the same holds true of the notion that the day has twelve hours.
- (b) Other traditions conflict with H.: the invention of the *gnōmōn* is attributed to Anaximander (vide infra) and the sundial to Meton (Kirchner, *Pros. Att.*, 10093) and Berossus the Chaldean (Vitr., IX, 9, 1).
- (c) The passage has no context.

As for (a), Powell is in error. The existence of sundials is guaranteed for the 5th Century B.C. (Robertson, CR 54(1940), p. 180 ff.). Argument (b) is equally fragile; for the Anaximander tradition is compatible with H. (vide infra); Meton could have invented a different kind of sundial (on the types vide Diels, *Antike Technik*, p. 160 ff.; Rehm, *RE* VIII, 2418 ff.; Ward, *Time Measurement*, I, p. 9 ff.) and the Berossus tradition is simply an expansion of H. Basically, therefore, there is no conflict, but, even if there were, the onus would still remain on Powell to prove that it is the statement in the MSS of H. which is wrong. Note, however, that such an error would not, in itself, disprove Herodotean authorship anyway. Finally, point (c) is easily met. Evidently, there was a tendency to regard both geometry and the other elements as coming *en bloc* either from Egypt or Babylonia. H. counters by insisting on the Eg. origin of the first while conceding the Babylonian origin of the others. The γάρ may, therefore, be unpacked as “but the same is not true of other related items; for...”. Clearly, the text must stand.

πόλον: “a concave sundial” (LSJ p. 1436, a, IV) consisting of a hemispherical dish with, in the Gk. world, a *gnōmōn*, “pointer”, fixed vertically inside. The *polos* was certainly used by the Babylonians who, however, cast the shadow onto the *skaphē* by means of a bead suspended over the centre rather than a *gnōmōn* (Taton (Ed.), op. cit., p. 110). There is a late tradition which is taken to imply that the instrument was known to

Anaximander (*DK* 12, A1~*KR* p. 99 ff.; Rehm, *op. cit.*, 2417 ff.; Krafft, *Artemis Lexikon*, 3159). This is an unnecessary assumption, as the technical terminology used in the Anaximandrian *testimonium* and the results alleged to have been obtained are consistent with the use of less sophisticated apparatus (*vide infra*). If, however, the notion is correct, Anaximander may well have learned of the device from oriental sources, particularly since, as a native of Miletus, such sources were easily accessible to him. H. *may*, therefore, be right and “the Gks”. *may* conceal Anaximander himself.

γνώμονα: “pointer” (*LSJ* p. 354, b, II, 2; cf. West, *CQ* 23(1973), p. 61 ff.). The most primitive time-measuring instrument known, the *gnōmōn* consists, in its simplest form, of nothing more than a straight stick fixed vertically in the ground so that it can cast a shadow (Tannery, *Pour l'Histoire de la Science Hellène*, p. 85; Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 9 ff.). Primitive specimens are known from Borneo and more sophisticated calibrated examples from Ancient and Modern Egypt (Sloley, *JEA* 17(1931), p. 170 ff.; Singer–Holmyard–Hall, *History of Technology*, I, p. 113 ff.). It was also used by the Babylonians to fix noon and the solstices but it should be noted that they did not combine it with the *polos* (Olmstead, *AJSL* 55(1938), p. 113 ff.; Taton (Ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 110) and that there is no need to do so. Fixed vertically into any plane surface (e.g. to make a sundial), it has been used since at least the 13th Century B.C. both for time-measurement and for astronomical purposes (Diels, *op. cit.*, p. 160 ff.; Borchardt, *Altäg. Zeitmessung*, p. 26 ff.; Ward, *op. cit.*, *passim*). We are, therefore, not obliged to treat H.’s *πόλον καὶ γνώμονα* as a compound phrase referring to a *single* instrument (with e.g. Tannery, *op. cit.*, p. 85, and against, e.g., Krafft, *op. cit.*, 3159).

It is explicitly stated in a late source (*DK* l.c.) that the *gnōmōn* was invented or introduced by Anaximander (cf., however, *KR* p. 99 ff.). Combined with H.’s statement, this might be taken to indicate that he imported it from Babylonia (cf. *KR* l.c.) but this is not a necessary deduction. If the Dyaks of Borneo have the wit to devise such a simple and obvious instrument (*vide supra*), surely we can assume that a people so richly endowed with ingenuity as the Gks. would not have needed prompting from Babylonia or anywhere else. *Post hoc ergo propter hoc* again (Introduction, p. 147 ff.)?

τὰ δωδέκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης: This is the earliest Gk. reference to hours. For practical purposes the innovation was not important during the 5th Century (Diels, *op. cit.*, p. 158 ff.) and the word *hōra* does not occur in the sense “hour” until the 4th (Ps. Arist., *Ath* 30, 6; Pytheas, F. 9(Mette)). The hour is first exemplified amongst the Egs. who divided the day and night into 12 hours (*wnwt*) each (Krafft, *op. cit.*, 3158; Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, p. 206; Singer–Holmyard–Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 796 ff.; Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World*, p. 14). The Babylonians used a day of 12

danna of 30 *us* each (Tannery, op. cit., p. 86; Singer–Holmyard–Hall, op. cit., p. 112 ff.; Bickerman, l.c.). The evident novelty of the idea in the 5th Century and the accessibility of Asiatic sources suggest that H. is probably correct in claiming a N.E. ancestry, though whether the idea came directly “from the Babylonians” or *via* intermediaries must remain an open question. H. may not, after all, be recording a genuine historical tradition. He may simply have guessed on the basis of *post hoc ergo propter hoc* and, for once, have hit the mark.

110. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ οὗτος... ἦρξε: Cf. D.S., I, 55; Str., XVI, 4, 4(C769); XVII, 1, 5(C790). This element in the Sesostris tradition will derive from two sources:

- (a) Historical fact. The XIIth Dyn. was the age of the conquest of Nubia (Gk. *Aithiopiē*) as far as the Second Cataract and its integration into the Eg. state. Senwosret I embarked on the conquest at the beginning of his reign and subsequently constructed or began forts at Buhen, Kubbân and elsewhere. Senwosret III completed the process and established the Eg. frontier at the Second Cataract which was fortified by a series of strong-points. So powerful an impression did he make that he became the tutelary god of the area (Sethe, *Sesostris*, p. 16 ff.; Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, p. 54 ff.; Arkell, *A History of the Sudan*², p. 55 ff.; Hayes, *CAH* I³, 2, p. 497 ff.; Emery, *Egypt in Nubia*, p. 133 ff.; Drioton–Vandier, *L’Égypte*⁴, p. 256 ff.; Trigger, *Nubia under the Pharaohs*, p. 64 ff.; Adams, *Nubia*, p. 175 ff.). At one level or another these events must have contributed to the Sesostris legend.
- (b) Nationalist propaganda. The emphasis on the unique nature of Sesostris’ achievement must surely reflect a desire to present an Eg. king trumping a Persian, in particular Cambyses, the Persian monarch most hated by the Egs., whose attempt to invade Nubia had proved a signal disaster (H., III, 17 ff.; D.S., III, 3, 1; Str., XVII, 1, 54(C820); Posener, *BIFAO* 34(1934), p. 81; Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature*, p. 16 ff.; Malaise, *CdE* 41(1966), p. 260 ff.; cf. Lloyd, *Historia* 31(1982), p. 37 ff.).

It is worth observing that, with the fluidity characteristic of saga, the conquest of Nubia was subsequently detached from the Sesostris *logos* to become a commonplace of late hero-romance, e.g. the legend of Semiramis, Moses and Alexander (Braun, op. cit., p. 18).

μνημόσυνα δὲ ἐλίπετο ... εἴκοσι πήχεων ἕκαστον: Cf. D.S., I, 57, 5 who adds that the statues were monolithic and that they recorded the unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Sesostris at Pelusium (II, 103). Mit Rahina, the site of the temple of Ptah at Memphis (*to Hēphaisteion*, n. II, 99, 4), has yielded some XIIth Dyn. remains (*PM* III, 2, p. 830 ff.) but none of this sparse material can be related to H.’s description. There are, however, two colossi of Ramesses II, one of granite, originally 32½ ft. (9.9 m.) tall, the

other of limestone approximately 42 ft. (c. 12.8 m.) in height. The first bears on the left an incised relief of the princess Bint-Anath, the other shows, on either side, figures of a son and daughter. The dual number, the substantial agreement with H.'s measurements, the general similarity between H.'s *ἑωυτόν τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα* and the iconography of the first, and the probable involvement of Ramesses II in the development of the Sesostri's *logos* all suggest that H.'s two statues have their origin here (Bagnold, *PSBA* 10(1887–8), p. 452; Wiedemann, *Kommentar*, p. 426; Petrie, *Memphis I*, p. 2; Spiegelberg, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit*, p. 24 ff.; Goossens, *CdE* 20(1945), p. 52; Wainwright, *JEA* 27(1941), p. 138, n. 1; Lange, *Sesostri's*, p. 23). Prototypes for the statues of the children have not survived but we can be confident that they consisted of a quartet of statues conveniently disposed near one or other of the colossi. It has long been recognized that the group of six statues was probably one of the major sources for the *logos* retailed in II, 107, i.e. that we are confronted with a *Monument-nouvelle* (cf. Spiegelberg, l.c.; Wainwright, l.c.). For another possible case of Ramesses II contributing to the Sesostri's legend vide Kákosy, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 2(1976), p. 185 ff.

τῶν δὴ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ... ποιήσασθαι: Cf. D.S., I, 58, 4. The tale is apocryphal: for Darius visited Egypt c. 518 (Braun, op. cit., p. 16; Posener, *La Première Domination Perse en Egypte*, p. 181; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 66, n. 2; cf. n. II, 158, 1) whereas his Scythian expedition fell between 516 and 511 (Gray-Cary, *CAH* IV, p. 212 ff.). The motive force behind the *logos* is clearly nationalist propaganda. One of the two greatest Persian emperors is being forced to yield pride of place to the Eg. Sesostri! In fact, it was Darius' career which encouraged the extension of Sesostri's legendary conquests into Europe (n. II, 103; Braun, op. cit., p. 15; Malaise, op. cit., p. 265). Observe, however, that Darius himself, unlike Cambyses, is depicted in a very favourable light, a situation which reflects his considerable interest in the affairs of Egypt where he organized the administration and constructed many public buildings (Posener, *BIFAO* 34(1934), p. 79 ff.; Lloyd, l.c.; id., *JEA* 68(1962), p. 173 ff.).

ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου: Evidently, as assumed by D.S. (l.c.), the high priest, i.e. the *wr ḥrp(w) ḥmwt (n Pth)*, "Chief Controller of Craftsmen (of Pth)" (*Wb* III, p. 86, 1–4).

Δαρείων: O.P. *Dārayavahuš*; Bab. *Darijamuš*; Aramaic דַרְיָוֶשׁ; Eg. *T/Drwš* etc. (Posener, *La Première Domination Perse en Egypte*, p. 161 ff.). Great King 521–485 (Parker–Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* 626 B.C.–A.D. 75, p. 30 ff.).

συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι: This phrase is synonymous with *συγγιγνώσκειν* which, in H., means "confess, agree, admit, give in" not "pardon" (Powell, *CQ* 29(1935), p. 76). D.S. (l.c.) amplifies considerably.

111. Φερῶν: Also *Pharaō* (Malalas, *FgrH* 609, F. 5, p. 83, l. 28). As D.S. was clearly aware (I, 59, 1), the name is based on the title *pr-ꜥ*, “the Great House, Pharaoh” (Lepsius, *Chronologie der Aegypter*, p. 289; Maspero, *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*, VII, p. 411 ff.; de Meulenaere, *CdE* 28(1953), p. 250; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 162; Legrand, *Hérodote*, I, p. 50). The alternative “*Phouorō* or *Neilos*” of the *Anagraphai* (*FgrH* 610, F. 1, p. 115, l. 12) is nothing more than aetiological etymologizing based on the Pherōs legend (< *pῖ itrw*; Dem. *pῖ iτr*; Copt. *πεισορ*, “the river”). Later sources give *Nencoreus* (Plin., *HN* XXXVI, 74) and a galaxy of corruptions thereof (e.g. *Nechaōs*, Josephus, *AJ* VIII, 6, 2; *BJ* V, 9, 4; *Marachō*/*Narachō*, Malalas, l.c. *et seq.*; *Karachō*, John of Antioch, *FHG* IV, 544) all of which derive ultimately from *Nbw-kꜣw-rꜥ*, the *nsw-bit(y)* name of Amenemhēt II, son and successor of Senwosret (Sesostris) I (Sethe, *Sesostris*, p. 11; Posener, *Littérature et Politique*, p. 142).

Since anonymity is a common feature of folk-tale (Introduction, p. 101), it seems probable that *Pherōs*, “Pharaoh”, did not refer originally to any specific historical king (*pace* Helck, *Manetho*, p. 46, who would identify with Ramesses II). The later name indicates, however, that a secondary connection with Amenemhēt II developed, for reasons that are far from clear. Thereby Pheros becomes the successor of one of the prototypes of the legendary Sesostris. This is precisely the position in which H. places him, a circumstance which proves that the identification had been made at least as early as the 5th Century.

τὸν ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν οὐδεμίαν στρατήϊν: Possibly mere inference from the fact that the Pheros legend contained no reference to such activities but it is worth remembering that Amenemhēt II, with whom Pheros was eventually identified, is not known to have embarked on any campaigns during his reign and even during his coregency with his father we can only point to a military promenade in Nubia (Hayes, *CAH*³ I, 2, p. 502 ff.).

συνενειχθῆναι δέ ... ὀκτῶ πήχεων: Cf. D.S., I, 59; Isid., *Etym* XVIII, 31. *Pace* Heidel (*Hecataeus and the Egyptian Priests*, p. 75) this tale is unequivocally Eg. in character, almost all the ingredients being paralleled in Pharaonic customs and literature (de Meulenaere, *CdE* 28(1953), p. 248 ff.; nn. infra).

συνενειχθῆναι δέ ... τυφλωθῆναι: Cf. III, 29–30; IV, 73. D.S. (l.c.) gives as an alternative, and doubtless secondary, explanation that he might have inherited his blindness from his father (cf. I, 58, 3). Blindness, indeed ophthalmic complaints in general, must have been a common affliction in Ancient Egypt (n. II, 84; Sigerist, *History of Medicine*, I, pp. 224, 274, 334, 343; Grapow, *Grundriß*, III, Index, s.v. Auge etc.). That it could be a punishment from the gods was certainly an Eg. belief as is confirmed by stelae from Deir el-Medina (Jonckheere, *CdE* 25(1950), p. 217 ff.; de

Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 255 ff.; Kuentz, *Actes XX^e Congrès Oriental*, p. 89) as well as by Juv. (XIII, 92 ff.).

H.'s narrative of crime and punishment is an amalgam of Eg. and Gk. elements:

- (a) *Egyptian*. The connection between Pheros and the Nile is in complete harmony with Eg. conceptions; for the king is frequently stated to be responsible for the inundation (e.g. PT 388 ~ Faulkner, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, p. 79; Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 86 ~ Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, p. 324). His power is not, however, absolute. Rather does he function as an intermediary who elicits the flood from Hapi, the Nile god, by the proper performance of his religious obligations (Barguet, *BIFAO* 52(1952), p. 49 ff.; id., *La Stèle de la Famine*, p. 14 ff.; Bonneau, *La Crue du Nil*, p. 306). Therefore, by Eg. standards, Pheros' behaviour involves an infringement of *m'et*, the cosmic order (cf. Introduction, p. 96 ff.), and must be redressed by a condign punishment.
- (b) *Greek*. The belief in retribution for a real or intended assault on the divine was firmly rooted in Gk. society and played a fundamental rôle in H.'s world view (Introductory n. II, 99–182). The use of the phrase ἀτασθαλίη χρησάμενον indicates that the situation is being regarded from precisely this point of view (cf. Bonneau, op. cit., p. 310). This, however, is nothing more than *interpretatio graeca* and provides no reason for doubting the Eg. origin of H.'s material at this point.

ἐπ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχας: According to classical sources 16 was the ideal figure, though the interpretation of the evidence presents difficulties (n. II, 13, 1). By this criterion, at any rate, 18 cubits would be more than bounty. Flood disasters were an endemic hazard until relatively modern times in Egypt and are occasionally mentioned in Ancient Eg. text (vide Baines, *Acta Orientalia* 36(1974), p. 39 ff.; 37(1976), p. 11 ff. (reign of Sobekhotpe VIII); *BAR* IV, §742 ff. (reign of Osorkon II)).

λαβόντα αἰχμήν βαλεῖν ... τυφλωθῆναι: Cf. in general *Exodus*, 8, 16 ff. The notion of a spear which offends a divine being and brings disaster on the thrower is a widespread motif in folk-lore (Aly, *Volksmärchen*, p. 66) whilst examples of the spear-motif are legion (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, Index, s.v.). In Madagascar it was even regarded as sacrilegious to brandish a lance over water if it contained crocodiles (Lefebure, *BdE* 35(1912), p. 23).

δέκα μὲν δὴ ἔτεα ... ἄπειρος: Another folk-motif. The oracle which offers an apparently easy solution to a problem but proves extremely difficult to fulfil is a commonplace of folk-lore (Crahay, *La Littérature Oraculaire*, p. 225).

δέκα μὲν δὲ ἔτεα ... ἑνδεκάτω δὲ ἔτει: 10, like 3, occurs frequently in folk-lore as a formulistic number (Thompson, op. cit., Index, s.v. Ten etc.).

μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος: Vide n. II, 83.

γυναικὸς οὐρῷ νιψάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς: Urine certainly occupied a position of considerable importance in Eg. therapeutics (Lefebvre, *BdE* 35(1912), p. 28; de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 257 ff.; Lefebvre, *La Médecine*, p. 155) and in some cases it is specified that it is that of women which must be used (Wreszinski, *P. Med. Berlin*, V, 2, 3). Urine also figures in Coptic medicine (Crum, *CD* p. 158) and is employed in modern Egypt, intriguingly enough, for ophthalmic complaints (Lefebvre, l.c.). Coptic parallels (descendants?) of this element occur in which blind men are cured by the milk of a chaste woman (Georgi, *De Miraculis S. Coluthi*, p. 17; Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, miracle 25). Needless to say, it figures prominently as a magical agent in folk-lore (Thompson, op. cit., Index, p. 832).

ἦτις παρὰ τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἄνδρα ... ἄπειρος: Sexual purity is of crucial importance in many folk contexts. Magicians are often virgins or pure boys, particularly in fertility magic (Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit*, p. 58 ff.). Sometimes a man can only be saved by a chaste woman, as in Pheros' case (Aly, l.c.), and there are many parallels for the idea that only a pure maiden can become the wife of a king (Pieper, *Das ägyptische Märchen*, p. 39). In general vide Thompson, op. cit., Index, s.v. Chastity.

καὶ τὸν πρώτης τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὸς πειρᾶσθαι ... πασέων πειρᾶσθαι: The motif of the immorality of women is world-wide, occurring particularly often in Indian folk-lore (Pieper, op. cit., pp. 16, 40; de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 250 ff.; Crahay, op. cit., p. 225; Thompson, op. cit., Index, s.v. Adulteress; K778, U66.1). Eg. literature provides several examples: the tale of Webaoner in P. Westcar (Erman, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, 4, 5 ff. ~ Simpson (Ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, p. 16 ff.), the *Tale of the Two Brothers* (Gardiner, *LES*, p. 9 ff. ~ Simpson (Ed.), op. cit., p. 92 ff.), the *Blinding of Truth* (Gardiner, op. cit., p. 30 ff. ~ Simpson (Ed.), op. cit., p. 127 ff.), the *Tale of the Setem-Priest Khaemwese and Naneferkaptah* (Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III, *The Late Period*, p. 133 ff.) and the *Dream of Nectanebo* (Wilcken, *UPZ* I, 81, p. 369 ff.).

Ἐρυθρὴ βῶλος: "Red Glebe". D.S. calls it *Hierabōlos* (I, 59). Since it appears to have existed in H.'s time, we can dispense with Sourdille's suggestion that the place is imaginary (*La Durée*, p. 96 ff.) but attempts to identify it have not been successful:

- (a) Ball championed *Dw dšr*, "the Red Mountain", i.e. the Gebel el-Ahmar to the N.E. of Cairo (*Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, p. 17). However, *bōlos* would not be an apt translation of *dw*, "mountain", nor is there any evidence of a city called *Dw dšr*.
- (b) De Meulenaere (op. cit., p. 255) is inclined to relate the name to *iṯ dšrt*, "red mound", a phrase which occurs as a place-name in Ptol. religious

texts. The context there is mythical but, he argues, it is perfectly possible that *ỉt dšr* was the current name of one, or indeed several towns, since *ỉt* is a well-known element in Eg. place-names (Gauthier, *DG* I, p. 21 ff.; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 296, Index, s.v. '*Ỉt*'). As with (a), however, it must be objected that the Gk. is not an apt translation of the first element in the Eg. name.

It is, then, impossible to pin down H.'s *Erythrē bōlos* but we can be confident on one point: since the word *dšr*, "red", was closely associated in Egypt, as elsewhere, with blood (Kees, *NAWG* 1943, p. 447; de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 253), the name of the city, wherever it stood, probably played an aetiological role at some stage in the evolution of the tale.

ὑποπρήσαι: Execution by fire involved the complete destruction of the body and would, therefore, remove, for the Egs., any possibility of an after-life (n. II, 86). It was, consequently, practised only by the most vindictive of enemies or reserved for the most heinous of crimes (Sander-Hansen, *Der Begriff des Todes bei den alten Aegyptern*, p. 10). Shabaka burned Bocchoris (Manetho, *FgrH* 609, F. 2-3, p. 48 ff.) and Prince Osorkon incinerated rebellious subjects (n. II, 45). Priests at Napata who had conspired to commit murder met the same fate (*Urk* III, 112, 8) and, predictably enough, destruction by fire is often mentioned in curses (e.g. *BAR* I, §766 ff.; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, I, 69, 4 ff. ~ *BAR* III, §192). That it could befall the adulterous wife is proved by P. Westcar (Erman, l.c. ~ Simpson (Ed.), l.c.) but it is not the only punishment known for such offenders. In the *Tale of the Two Brothers* Anubis killed his unfaithful wife and threw her to the dogs (Gardiner, op. cit., 8, 8 ~ Simpson (Ed.), op. cit., p. 100) whereas death by the knife was the fate of Bata's equally unprincipled spouse (Gardiner, op. cit., 9, 9; 19, 5 ~ Simpson (Ed.), op. cit., pp. 101, 107). In the former case, however, the basic principle of annihilation is clearly in evidence and we can be confident that it was this, rather than the method, that really mattered. In extenuation of this one-sided picture, note that a passage in the *Wisdom of Ptahhotpe* may mean that, under certain circumstances, male adulterers could be executed (Žaba, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep*, 9, 8, p. 83, 277 ff.).

It should be remembered that the execution of male and female adulterers is enjoined in Jewish and Akkadian texts (*Leviticus*, 20, 10; *Deuteronomy*, 22, 22; *John*, 8, 1 ff.; *Code of Hammurabi*, §129 ~ Pritchard, *ANET*³ p. 171) and that similar practices have prevailed in the N.E. up to the present day. Of the Eg. fellahîn Lane writes: "When a Fellāhah is found to have been unfaithful to her husband, in general he or her brother throws her into the Nile, with a stone tied to her neck; or cuts her in pieces, and then throws her remains into the river" (*MCME* p. 202; cf. in general Kornfeld, *Revue Biblique* 57(1950), p. 107 ff.). The asperities of such practices were, however, considerably softened by the fact that no such crime could be established in law without four eyewitnesses (op. cit., p. 110).

τῆς δὲ νηψάμενος ... γυναῖκα: D.S. describes her as a gardener (I, 59, 3). Few will accept Wainwright's ingenious, if wayward, notion that this reflects fertility affinities (*The Sky-Religion in Egypt*, p. 54 ff.). It is probably an example of that most gratifying of motifs "rags to riches" (on which vide n. II, 128).

ἀναθήματα... πήχεων: Cf. D.S., I, 59, 4 (with predictable variations).

ἐς τοῦ Ἡλίου τὸ ἱρόν: The Temple of Rē at Heliopolis (n. II, 3).

ὀβελούς δύο λιθίνους: Pace Lange (*Anthropos* 60(1965), p. 847 ff.), the use of the word *obelos*, "spit", probably exemplifies the Gk. tendency, in certain moods, to make jests at the expense of Eg. culture (cf. n. II, 69, 3). The obelisk, one of the most highly charged of Eg. religious symbols, consisted of two elements—a pyramidion representing the *bmbn*-stone (an ancient and sacred Heliopolitan fetish embodying the primeval hill from which the demiurge emerged at the creation, Introductory n. II, 124–35), and a greatly elongated plinth which formed the shaft. In view of its genesis it was naturally regarded as a place where the creator-god and his demiurgic power were particularly immanent. The use in pairs probably sprang from an urge to symmetry (one on each side of the entrance) but the duality was later theologically consecrated in that the Eg. came to regard one obelisk as being connected with the sun and the other with the moon (Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 539 ff.). The only example standing on the site of Heliopolis at present dates from the reign of Senwosret (Sesostris) I. It marks the entrance to the main temple and formed one of a pair until the collapse of its fellow c. A.D. 1160 (LD II, pl. 118; Gorringe, *Egyptian Obelisks*, p. 122 ff.; Petrie-Mackay, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa*, p. 5; Engelbach, *The Problem of the Obelisks*, p. 17; Rieke, *ZÄS* 71(1935), p. 107 ff.; PM IV, p. 60). The temptation to identify this pair with those of H. must be firmly resisted. Str. was able to find a considerable number there (XVII, 1, 27(C805)) and the mediaeval Arab writer Abd el-Latif mentions many on the site in his time (Gorringe, op. cit., p. 123). The obelisks associated with Pheros may, therefore, have disappeared long since.

ἐξ ἑνὸς ἐόντας: This is standard practice. The Heliopolis obelisk is made of a solid block of granite measuring 6.2 ft. (c. 1.8 m.) at the base and 67 ft. (c. 20.4 m.) in height. It weighs 121 tons (Engelbach, *The Problem of the Obelisks*, p. 17 ff.).

μήκος μὲν ἑκάτερον πήχεων ἑκατόν: c. 150 ft. (c. 45.6 m.), an improbable figure. The largest standing obelisk known is the specimen in the Lateran and that measures no more than 105.6 ft. (c. 32.1 m.) (Engelbach, op. cit., p. 108), though the unfinished obelisk at Assuan attains a length of 137 ft. (c. 41.8 m.) (Engelbach, op. cit., p. 25). If H.'s figure for the width is correct

(vide infra), we should expect the height to be c. 120 ft. (c. 36.5 m.) on the 1–10 ratio which appears to be the norm. At all events H.'s measurement need not be taken at the foot of the letter since he, or his source, was probably guessing (cf. II, 124, 3 ff.).

εὖρος δὲ ὀκτὼ πήχεων: c. 12 ft. (c. 3.6 m.). The Lateran obelisk measures 9 ft. 9½ in. (c. 2.9 m.), the Assuan obelisk 13¾ ft. (c. 4.1 m.). The ease with which H.'s figure could have been obtained justifies us in having considerably more confidence in this one than in its predecessor.

Bibliography (obelisks): Gorringer, *Egyptian Obelisks*; Engelbach, *The Problem of the Obelisks*; Bonnet, *RARG* p. 539 ff.; Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt*; Martin, *Ein Garant-Symbol des Lebens. Untersuchungen zu Ursprung und Geschichte des altägyptischen Obelisken bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*; Dondelinger, *Der Obelisk*; Zivie, "Les Rites d'Erection de l'Obélisque et du Pilier Ioun", *Hommages à la Mémoire de Serge Sauneron 1927–1976*, I, *Egypte Pharaonique*, p. 477 ff.

112–120. Proteus. This discussion falls into several sections:

- 112. Introduction. The *temenos* of Proteus and the temple of the Foreign Aphrodite. This gives rise to:
- 113–115. The account of Helen's arrival in Egypt en route to Troy with Alexander and her detention there throughout the Trojan War.
- 116–117. Analysis of Homer's knowledge of traditions concerning Helen's wanderings.
- 118–120. Analysis of the *logos* of the priests on Helen's sojourn in Egypt to determine its historical validity.

112. τούτου δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι ... Πρωτέα εἶναι: Cf. D.S., I, 62. For chronology vide Introduction, p. 187.

Πρωτέα: This is explicitly stated to be the *Gk.* name only. Lauth claimed (*Aegyptische Chronologie*, p. 181) that it reflected a royal title *pꜣ rwty*, "The Two Gates", which was alleged to have been used as an equivalent of *Pr ꜥ*, "The Great House, Pharaoh" (cf. *P. Anastasi*, I, 28, 5). He has been followed by Maspero (*Bibliothèque Egyptologique* VII, p. 345), Gilbert (*L'Antiquité Classique* 18(1949), p. 81; id., *La Nouvelle Clio* 10–12(1958–62), p. 179), Herter (*RE* XXIII, 1, 952) and Burton (*Diodorus Siculus Book I*, p. 183). There is, however, *no* evidence that *pꜣ rwty* was ever used in such a way. In *P. Anastasi*, I, the sentence in which it occurs should be rendered: "You are a scribe of the Great Gates (sc. the Palace)". The attempt of Müller to derive the name from *nfr hr*, an epithet of Ptah (*OLZ* 6(1903), 99 ff.), and that of Helck to explain it as a *Gk.* rendering of Manetho's *Thouōris* (*FgrH* 609, p. 42 ff.; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, p. 46; cf. Lüddeckens, *Gnomon* 31(1959), p. 259 ff.) are even less convincing. The name is pure *Gk.* The Homeric sea-god Proteus who was encountered by Menelaus on the coast of Egypt (*Od* IV, 351 ff.) has been converted into a

human king and has then supplanted the Thon of *Od* IV, 228, the latter being relegated to the status of an official. This evolution may be the result of rationalism, whether Hesiodic or Hecatean, but it may have been encouraged by Eg. iconography; for Eg. reliefs often represent Nile gods which could easily recall the *gerōn halios* of the *Od* and often enough the king is himself depicted in this form (Spiegelberg, *BIFAO* 30(1931), p. 103 ff.). If, in the *temenos* in question, there were such a representation, Gk. observers might easily have deduced that the king was the prototype of the Homeric Proteus. Who that king was it is, however, impossible to determine. It should be borne firmly in mind that Stadelmann's attempt to convert Proteus from a human king into the god Ba'al Sapan (*Syrisch-Palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten*, p. 37; *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I, 590) runs directly counter to H.'s express statement that he was a human king and is, therefore, unacceptable (Lloyd, *JHS* 100(1980), p. 196).

τοῦ νῦν τέμενός ἐστι ... πρὸς νότον ἀνεμὼν κείμενον: Several shrines have been identified S. of the temple of Ptaḥ (Petrie, *Memphis I*, p. 1 ff.; id., *Memphis II*, p. 13 ff.; Fisher, *The Museum Journal* 6(1915), p. 63 ff.; ib. 8(1917), p. 211 ff.; Badawi, *Memphis als zweite Landeshauptstadt im Neuen Reich*, p. 22 ff.; Anthes, *Mit Rahineh* 1955; id., *Mit Rahineh* 1956; Mahmud, *A New Temple for Hathor at Memphis*; Smith et al., *JEA* 69(1983), p. 30 ff.) but the exact site of Proteus' *temenos* of "the Foreign Aphrodite" has yet to be established. However, several pointers suggest that it may have lain in the vicinity of Kom el-Qal'a, S.E. of the Ptaḥ temple:

1. At present the archaeological evidence for foreign settlement at Memphis clusters most thickly in this area (Petrie, *Memphis I*, p. 15 ff.; *Memphis II*, p. 13 ff.).
2. A stele bearing a Phoenician dedication to Astarte, i.e. "the Foreign Aphrodite" (vide infra), has been found on Kom el-Qal'a (Lacau, *Monuments Piot* 25(1921-2), p. 202).
3. Dedications to Ḥathor, an Eg. equivalent of Astarte, have been found on Kom el-Qal'a (Petrie, *Memphis I*, p. 3 ff.).

Petrie identified the *temenos* with the temple/palace of Merenptah discovered in this vicinity (*Memphis I*, p. 4) but this suggestion is placed out of court by the fact that the sector of this installation excavated by Fisher had certainly long been below ground by H.'s time (op. cit., 8(1917), p. 227).

περιοικέουσι ... Τυρίων στρατόπεδον: Phoenicians figured prominently in Eg. life during the Late Period as merchants, sailors and mercenary troops (Introduction, p. 24; Leclant in Ward (Ed.), *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations*, p. 16 ff.) and it comes as no surprise to find that there was a racially mixed element of *Phoinikaiggyptioi* in the country in Hellenistic times (*PSI* 5, 531, 1). Texts of this period specifically mention Tyrians (*PZenCol* 59, 666, 5; *PHib* II, 261, [4], 262; *SB* 629, 3 & 6) but direct confirmation of the existence of the Memphite camp

does not seem to exist. It may be mentioned in a Ptol. inscription from the area which refers to a “Prophet of Amūn of the Syrian settlement in the midst of the...” (Spiegelberg, *Kēmi* 2(1929), p. 107 ff.; Montet, *DG* I, p. 33) and parallels can easily be cited: in the N.K. we hear of the $\text{ἱ} < \text{h} > \text{t} \text{ n} \text{ṣ} \text{ n} \text{ Ḥt}$, “Field of Hittites”, N. of the temple of Ptaḥ (Badawi, op. cit., p. 59), which presumably developed from a settlement of Hittite captives possibly given to the temple and settled nearby (cf. Borchardt, *ZÄS* 36(1898), p. 7 ff.) and later we encounter a *Ioudaiōn stratopedon/castra Iudaeorum* (Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 43(1906), p. 94) which may have been sited at Memphis and may date back to the Ptol. Period (Aimé-Giron, *Textes Araméens d’Égypte*, p. 58 ff.). It is conceivable that some of its members figure amongst the Phoenicians mentioned in a badly damaged Aramaic papyrus of Persian date referring to a naval arsenal at Memphis (Aimé-Giron, op. cit., p. 12 ff.; Bowman, *AJSL* 58(1941), p. 302 ff.) but this must remain no more than an attractive possibility. At all events, we may reasonably guess that H.’s camp was a base for Phoenician, mainly Tyrian, military and naval personnel with their attendant civilian community. Whether it was founded by the Persians or went back to Saite times we have no means of telling.

ἔστι δὲ ... ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης: Cf. Str., XVII, 1, 31(C807). This passage and the discussion of Herakles (II, 43 ff.) are the only two instances where H. calls in question established identifications (Linforth, *UCPCPh* 9(1)(1926), p. 12 ff.). Ἡ ξείνη Ἀφροδίτη = $\text{ṣtr}(t) \text{ Ḥ} \text{ṣrw}$, “Astarte of Syria” (Madsen, *ZÄS* 41(1904), p. 114 ff.). For the term ξείνη applied to Astarte vide Lyc., *Alex* 831 ff. Astarte was a Semitic deity who had been worshipped since the XVIIIth Dyn. in Egypt where she was identified pre-eminently with Sekhmet, wife of Ptaḥ, but also with Isis and Ḥathor. The Memphite temple is called the *Aphrodision* in the papyri and had a filial in the Serapeum which is referred to either as the *Aphrodision* or the *Astarteion*.

Bibliography (Astarte in Egypt): Lacau, *Monuments Piot* 25(1921–2), p. 189 ff.; Aimé-Giron, *BIFAO* 23(1924), p. 7 ff.; Wilcken, *Urk* I, p. 37 ff.; Kees, *RE* XV, 668 ff.; Gardiner, *Studies Griffith*, p. 74 ff.; Ranke, ib., p. 415 ff.; Mercer, *Egyptian Religion* 3(1935), p. 192 ff.; Perdrizet, *ASAE* 36(1936), p. 5 ff.; Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 55 ff.; Kiessling, *Afp* 15(1953), pp. 21 ff., 41, 45; Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 174, 179; Leclant, *Syria* 37(1960), p. 4 ff.; Boyaval, *BIFAO* 64(1966), p. 76 ff.; Stadelmann, *Syrisch-Palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten*; Helck, *RE* IXA, 1409; Stadelmann, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I, 590 ff.; Lloyd, *JHS* 100(1980), p. 196 ff.

Ἥσα γὰρ ἄλλα ... ἐπικαλέεται: Helen was, in origin, an old pre-Gk. vegetation goddess. In Classical times she enjoyed a cult in two temples at Sparta—the Menelaion at Therapnae and at Caphyae—and also on Rhodes where she was worshipped as *Helenē Dendritis*. The latter epithet is the only cult title known to the present writer. See further Nilsson, *Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology*, pp. 73 ff., 172 ff.; Nilsson, *GgrR* I, pp. 315, 475 ff.

113–5. The origin of this heretical version of the legend of Helen is not easy to establish. The evidence is as follows:

1. H. states (113, 1) that he derived the tale from the priests. At the very least this will mean that he extracted it by a series of leading questions but it could be a Gk. tale that had already become part of Eg. tradition (vide Introduction, pp. 92 ff., 109). Whatever the situation, the tradition must have existed before this confrontation. Furthermore, its creator cannot be H.; otherwise he could not possibly have treated it so seriously. It was evidently a firmly established *logos* even though it was not canonical.
2. According to *Il* VI, 289 ff., Alexander had gone to Sidon with Helen on his way home to Troy. Therefore, Hom. knew of a tradition that a considerable time-lag had intervened between Helen's departure from Sparta and her arrival at Troy.
3. In *Od* IV, 125 ff. we are informed of a visit to Eg. Thebes by Menelaus and Helen.
4. In *Od* IV, 219 ff. we are told that Helen had obtained *φάρμακα μητιόεντα* from Polydamna, the wife of Thōn. This took place in Egypt but there is no indication of the stage in her career. It probably refers to the journey from Troy with Menelaus; Hellenicus certainly thought so (*FgrH* 4, F. 153).
5. Hesiod is stated to have introduced the *eidōlon* motif into the Helen *logos* (F. 358 (Merkelbach–West)), i.e. he denied that Helen went to Troy.
6. Stesichorus in the *Palinode* against Hom. also denied that Helen went to Troy (Page, *P.Mel.Gr.*, F. 15). Plato adds (*Resp* 586c) that he used the *eidōlon* device found in Euripides, *Hel* (vide infra). Where Stesichorus deposited the real Helen is unknown. According to Dio Chrysostom (*Or* XI, 40) he did not despatch her to Egypt. On the other hand, the commentator in *POxy* 2506 (2nd Century A.D.) states *αὐτὸς δὲ φησιν ὁ Στησίχορος τὸ μὲν εἰδῶλον ἐλθεῖν ἐς Τροίαν τὴν δ' Ἑλένην π[αρά] τῷ Πρωτεί καταμειν[αι]*. This we could accept if we could be sure that this statement, like its predecessor in the papyrus, derived from Chamaeleon the Peripatetic but such confidence is impossible. We must face the prospect that, if it emanated from a commentator of the 2nd Century A.D. we could be confronted with confusion comparable to the error of Schol. Lyc., *Alex* 822 (F. 266Rz.): *πρῶτος Ἡσιόδος περὶ τῆς Ἑλένης τὸ εἰδῶλον παρήγαγε; καὶ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἀληθινὴ Ἑλένη ἔμεινεν παρὰ Πρωτεί, τὸ δὲ εἰδῶλον αὐτῆς συνέπλευσεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν* (cf. Schol. ad Aristid., *Or* XIII, 131, and Tzetzes ad Lyc., *Alex* 113). The only thing of which we can be sure, therefore, is that Stesichorus sent the *eidōlon* to Troy. What he did with the real Helen remains an open question (so also Herter, *RE* XXIII, 1, 951 ff.; Fehling, *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot.*, p. 46) but a man of whom it could be written *ἐκ[α]νοποίησε τ[ὰς] ἱστορ[ι]ας* would presumably not have been at a loss for alternatives.

7. Hec. certainly said something about Menelaus' journey to Egypt (*FgrH* I, F. 307–8) whilst F. 309 makes it likely that he discussed Helen as well. This *need* mean nothing more than a knowledge of the *Od* and inferences therefrom.
8. Ps. Scyl. (106 ~ *GGM* I, p. 80) mentions a city called *Thōnis* in Egypt.
9. Hellanicus (l.c.) discussed the relationship between Menelaus, Thōnos and Helen. This again *need* mean nothing more than a knowledge of the *Od*.
10. Euripides (*Hel* 1 ff.) informs us that it was not Helen but an *eidōlon* *emphnōn* which went to Troy, Hermes having taken the genuine Helen to Egypt and deposited her with Proteus.
11. In the *Il* Helen goes willingly to Troy but there is a clearly identifiable tendency in later literature to exonerate Helen of all responsibility for the war (Ghali-Kahil, *Les Enlèvements et le Retour d'Hélène*, passim). That tendency appears in H.'s version (ξείνου γὰρ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἑξαπατήσας τὴν γυναῖκα, II, 114, 2).

11 would naturally give rise to a denial that Helen had gone to Troy at all. The story of the *eidōlon* would then have been invented to explain why the Trojan War took place. The creators of this tradition would naturally have drawn on such useful hints as Hom. provided. *Il* VI, 289 ff. suggested a wandering in the E. Mediterranean and that, combined with the tradition of the *Od* that Helen had been in Egypt after the fall of Troy, could have led to the notion that she had, in fact, never been anywhere else, having been left there by Paris during his peregrinations in the Levant before returning to Troy. This *may* have been developed by Stesichorus or even Hesiod but it could have evolved later (cf. Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides*, p. 241, n. 1; Jacoby, *FgrH* I, Kommentar zu F. 307–9). H.'s version is clearly a development of this. The major change is the removal of the *eidōlon*. There are two possible motives for this: it offended reason (cf. Kaiser in Morenz, *Die Begegnung*, p. 230) and it was, in any case, unnecessary since the war needed only the *conviction* on the part of the Gks. that Helen was at Troy, not her actual presence there. Who developed this version? It must have been someone active before H.'s dialogue with the priests and someone with a relatively sophisticated psychological awareness as well as a liberal dose of rationalism. The obvious candidate is Hec. We conclude, therefore, that the Helen *logos* discussed and accepted by H. may well have derived from his Milesian predecessor (so also vide Gutschmid–Diels, *Hermes* 22(1887), p. 441 ff.; Wiedemann, *Kommentar*, p. 435; Herter, *op. cit.*, 954 ff. etc.).

Bibliography: Pisani, *RFIC* 6(1928), p. 476 ff.; Momigliano, *Aegyptus* 12(1932), p. 113 ff.; Alsina Clota, *Helmantica* 8(1957), p. 373 ff.; Becker, *Helena. Ihr Wesen und ihre Wandlungen im klassischen Altertum*; Ghali-Kahil, *Les Enlèvements et le Retour d'Hélène*; Page, *Poeti Melici Graeci*, 192; Jacoby, *FgrH* Kommentar zu F. 307–9; Herter, *RE* XXIII, 1, 940 ff.; Page, *POxy* XXIX, 2506; Kaiser in Morenz, *Die Begegnung*, p. 229 ff.; Rebuffat, *REA* 68(1966), p. 245 ff.; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, pp. 162 ff., 370, 423; Jesi, *Aegyptus* 45(1965), p. 56 ff.; Davison, *From Archilochus to Pindar*, p. 196 ff.; Legrand, *Hérodote*, II, p. 32 ff.; Dale,

Helen; Podlecki, *Ath* 49(1971), p. 319 ff.; Fornara, *Herodotus*, p. 19 ff.; Fehling, *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot.*, p. 46 ff.; Froidefond, *Le Mirage Egyptien*, p. 179 ff.; Neville, *GR* 24(1977), p. 3 ff.

113. ἔλεγον δέ μοι ... ὧδε: For *historiē* vide Introduction, p. 81 ff.

ἐξῶσται ἄνεμοι ... πέλαγος: The Etesian Winds (n. II, 20, 2).

τὸ νῦν Κανωβικὸν ... τοῦ Νείλου: Vide n. II, 15, 1.

ἐς Ταριχείας: A settlement named after the fish-pickling industry (n. II, 15, 1).

Ἡρακλέος ἱρόν: Herakles is identified with Chonsu in II, 42 (q.v.) and Shu in II, 43 (q.v.). It is probably one of these who is involved here but the name may conceal some other deity such as Ḥorus or Onuris. It is unnecessary to postulate with Gruppe (*RE* SB III, 987) a Gk. origin or to suspect a Phoenician cult of Melkart (as does Rebuffat, *REA* 68(1966), p. 248 ff.). The *Hēraklion* is mentioned by Str. E of Canopus (XVII, 1, 18(C801)) and gave its name to the Herakleote Mouth of the Nile.

ἐς τὸ ἦν καταφυγὼν ... ἀπ' ἀρχῆς: Cf. Eust. ad *Od* IV, 228. This is the oldest extant reference to the right of asylum in Ancient Egypt. The initial temptation to regard it as an element inserted into the story by Gks. must be resisted since H. states that it still belonged to the temple in his own time and this was an area which must have been well known to the Gks. In Ptol. times the right, known as *nḥt*, attached to a *rpni nḥr*, "temple of a god" (Gk. *hieron*), *ḥwi pr-ꜥ*, "king's altar" (Gk. *bōmos*), *ꜥwy-ꜥnh*, "oath-place" (Gk. *temenos*), or generally to an *ꜥwy nḥt* or *mꜥ nḥt*, "place of protection" (Gk. *skepē pasa*), the basic notion being that holy places were sacrosanct and should protect those within them or in their vicinity from acts of violence. In pre-Ptol. times it is probable that such a general system of asylum obtained but the rigid legalism characteristic of the Ptolemies defined the situation more precisely so that, in effect, there were two categories of asyla—those officially recognized by the government and those which functioned in the ancient way. The fact that H. mentions *therapontes* fits in well since in Ptol. times asyla could apparently welcome runaway slaves.

Bibliography: v. Woess, *Das Asylwesen Ägyptens in der Ptolemäerzeit und die spätere Entwicklung*. *MBP* 5(1923); van Berchem, *Museum Helveticum* 17(1960), p. 26 ff.; Delekat, *Katoche, Hierodulie und Adoptionsfreilassung*. *MBP* 47(1964); Wenger, *RAC* I, 836 ff.; Lüdeckens, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I, 514 ff.; Crawford, *J. Juristic Pap.* 18(1974), p. 169 ff.; Piatkowska, *La Skepē dans l'Égypte Ptolémaïque*; Dunand, *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, II, p. 77 ff.

ὄτευ ὦν ... τῷ θεῷ: The branding of temple slaves and livestock was standard practice (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 77, 5 ff. ~ *BAR* IV, §405; Erichsen, *Festschrift Crum*, p. 274, 3).

τὸν τοῦ στόματος τούτου φύλακον: Possibly a reference to the officer known in the Saite Period as *imy-r* ⲉ ⲙⲓⲱⲧⲱⲣ *Wꜥd-wr*, "Overseer of the Gate of the Foreign Lands of the Great Green" (Tresson, *Kēmi* 4(1931), p. 129 ff.). This official was presumably concerned, amongst other things, with shipping making a landfall in the western and central Delta and may have been responsible for levying customs dues at the rate of 10% on imports. His seat was probably Sais and similar officials are also known at Elephantine and on the N.E. frontier (Posener, *RdPh* 21(1947), p. 117 ff.). It is, however, equally likely that the *phylakos* was of humbler rank, e.g. the commander of a military installation controlling entry into the country similar to that at Sile (Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 190 ff.) or the frontier post at the Second Cataract during the M.K. (Introduction, p. 27 ff.). At all events, the institution must have been something the Gks. knew well since the Canopic Mouth was the point of entry for Naucratis (n. II, 179).

τῷ οὐνόμα ἦν Θῶνις: The name derives from that of *Thōn* in *Od* IV, 219 ff. Schol. Q. Vind. Eust., ad loc., describes him as βασιλεὺς τοῦ Κανάβου καὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου στόματος. Str. agrees on the rank and also mentions a city called *Thōnis* which is alleged to have stood between Pharos and the Canopic Branch (XVII, 1, 16(C800); cf. Ps. Scyl. 106 ~ *GGM* I, p. 80; D.S., I, 19; St. Byz., s.v. *Thōnis*). In fact, this place name is known for two sites in the northern Delta from documents of the 2nd Century A.D. and Copt. Period (Kees, *RE* VIA, 330) but in both cases it is probable that the name had arisen because a native name recalled that of the legendary *Thōnis* (Fehling's doubts on this score (*Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot*, p. 47, n. 4) seem unjustifiable).

114. ἀκούσας δὲ τούτων ... λέξει: The situation—king in the palace receiving messages from an official—is a common motif in Eg. tales (Kaiser in Morenz, *Die Begegnung*, p. 229, n. 2). On the other hand, the sentiments of both messages are totally un-Eg. and spring unequivocally from the social values of the Gk. world:

1. Emphasis on *xenia*. This was a basic institution of Gk. society, conferring bonds of obligation on both parties involved. It was not, however, simply a social bond. It was sanctioned by religious feeling and guaranteed by Zeus Xenios. Consequently an offence against *xenia* is not simply *adikon*; it is positively *anhosion* (*Il* III, 349 ff.; Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, p. 115 ff.; Walcot, *Greek Peasants*, p. 80; cf. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage*, Index, s.v. Hospitality).
2. αὐτὴν τε ταύτην ἄγων... χρήματα: H. emphasizes here and elsewhere (*Il*, 115, 4-6; 118, 3) the same two aspects of Paris' crime as Hom. (*Il* VII, 360 ff.; XIII, 623 ff.) and later commentators (e.g. Dict. Cret., I, 3; Apollod., *Epit* III, 3 ff.): Menelaus' *timē* was offended twice in that his wife was taken (for *timē* and women vide Walcot, op. cit., p. 65 ff.) and his property was stolen (for *timē* and property vide Finley, op. cit., p. 143; Walcot, op. cit., p. 60 ff.).

ξείνου γὰρ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἑξαπατήσας: Exoneration of Helen's responsibility for the events leading up to the war (vide supra, Introductory n. II, 113-5).

115. ἀνακομισθέντων δὲ πάντων... τοῦ ἀδικήματος: For the eminently satisfying motif of the lying criminal confronted with witnesses to his iniquities cf. the story of Arion, H., I, 24, 7-8.

τέλος δὲ δὴ... πολεμίους περιέψεσθαι: For the sentiments vide n. II, 115. Notice that H. shows his characteristic high regard for Eg. humanity (Ἐγὼ εἰ μὴ... περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγῆμαι μὴ ξεινοκτονέειν; cf. n. II, 45, and Groten, *Phoenix* 17(1963), p. 86).

ἀναπτέρωσας αὐτήν: Cf. n. II, 114, 2.

116-7. The earliest known example of Homeric criticism. For H.'s methods of argument vide Introduction, p. 160 ff.

116. δοκέει δέ μοι ... ἐκατόμβας: The quotations derive from *Il* VI, 289-92 and *Od* IV, 227-30 and 351-2. As the text stands, H. loses as much credit as he gains since, although the first quotation might plausibly be used as evidence that Hom. knew the version of the Helen legend preserved in H., the *Od* references cannot be employed in this way: *Od* IV, 227 ff. probably refers to the *nostos* of Menelaus (vide Introductory n. II, 113-5); the latter passage certainly does. It is, of course, possible that H. has been guilty of a momentary lapse but it is better to regard the two *Od* passages as interpolations in H.'s MS or even as afterthoughts which were never fully integrated into the text (Powell, *CQ* 29(1935), p. 76); certainly the conclusion of his argument (ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἔπει... οἰκέουσι) proceeds as though the *Od exempla* simply did not exist. It is likely that H. is mistaken even in his view of the implications of *Il* VI; for there is good reason to believe that H.'s *logos* is post-Homeric and that *Il* VI, 289 ff., rather than reflecting it, was one of the elements which contributed to its development (vide supra Introductory n. II, 113-5).

117. οὐκ Ὅμηρου τὰ Κύπρια ... ἀλλ' ἄλλου τινός: The *Kypria* was one of a series of epic poems concerned with amplifying or modifying the Homeric account of the Trojan War, particularly its causes and its aftermath. The *Kypria* itself discussed the events leading up to war. The author was Hom. according to Pindar (F. 280 (Bowra)) and Aelian (*VH* IX, 15), Stasinus according to Suidas (s.v. Ὅμηρος, V²), Tzetzes (*H* XIII, 638) and Schol. A. Vind. 61, minn. ad *Il* I, 5, Stasinus or Hegesias according to Athenaeus (682d) and Stasinus, a Cypriot or somebody else according to id. (334b). Other writers (e.g. Arist., *Po* 23(1459a)) insist that it was not Hom. but give no alternative.

ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι Κυπρίοισι ... αὐτήν: Flatly contradicted by *testimonia* on the *Kypria* which assert that Paris voyaged to Cyprus and Phoenicia before returning to Troy (cf. Apollodorus, *Epit* III, 1 ff.). Possibly H. has confused the *Kypria* with some other Cyclic poem. Alternatively we might argue with Robert (*Heldensage*, p. 1084 ff.) that the *testimonia* in question reflect a post-Herodotean interpolation in the text of the poem.

118–9. *Historiē* in action (cf. Introduction, p. 81 ff.). For Eg. priests and Gk. *logoi* vide Introductory n. II, 113–5.

118. ἀπαιτέειν Ἑλένην ... κλέψας Ἀλέξανδρος: Vide n. II, 114.

119. ξεινίων ἦντησε ... ἀπέλαβε: For H. and Eg. humanity vide n. II, 115. Does the phrase ἀπαθέα κακῶν indicate that the anti-Eg. traditions of Hellanicus (*FgrH* 4, F. 153) and Euripides (*Hel* 60 ff.) already existed and needed to be denied by the priests and H.?

ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο ... σφεα ἐποίησε: The origins of this element lie in *Od* IV, 351 ff. but no mention is made there of human sacrifice. Its genesis has been variously explained:

1. It is a doublet of the sacrifice of Iphigenia (Fehling, *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot*, p. 48).
2. It is an Eg. fabrication designed to counter the Busiris legend (Plu., *De Her Malig* 12 (*Mor* 857); How–Wells, *Commentary*, I, p. 224; Legrand, *Hérodote*, II, p. 33).
3. The story is Phoenician and reflects a child-sacrifice (Rebuffat, *REA* 68(1966), p. 249 ff.).

Of these, 3 is least likely since there is no good reason to postulate Phoenician involvement in developing the tale. 2 may have been a factor in encouraging the Egs. to accept the *logos* into their own corpus of legend but 1 is probably the source since H.'s account of Menelaus' activities in Egypt seems firmly rooted in Gk. tradition (Introductory n. II, 113–5). Pro-Helen propaganda combined with the hybristic behaviour of Menelaus towards Proteus in the *Od* could easily have led to denigration of Menelaus and that, in the context, could easily have made him the perpetrator of a crime like that of his brother at Aulis. Whatever the origin of the tale, however, it should be noted that the act would be equally offensive to Gks. and Egs.—to the former as a violation of *xenia*, to the latter because of their repugnance for human sacrifice (n. II, 45).

φεύγων τῇσι νηυσὶ ἰθὺς Λιβύης: The tradition that Menelaus had visited Libya during his *nostos* is as old as Hom. (*Od* IV, 81 ff.). According to Euripides (*Hel* 404 ff., 768 ff.) the visit preceded that to Egypt. Hom. is not explicit on the matter but the order in which points on Menelaus' itinerary are mentioned may reflect the same opinion as that espoused by H. which

was, in fact, the standard one. The tradition played a major rôle in the foundation legends of the city of Cyrene and was widely reflected in Libyan toponymy (in general Lysim., *FgrH* 382, F. 6; Schmidt, *RE* XV, 816 ff.; Chamoux, *Cyrène*, p. 69 ff.).

120. ἐγὼ δὲ ... εἴρηται: At this point H. applies *gnōmē* to the priestly *logos* (cf. Introduction, p. 81 ff.). The *tekmērion* consists of argument *κατὰ τὸ εἶκός* based on the ingredients of epic tradition and the fundamental nature of human beings (Introduction, p. 162 ff.).

ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ... παρὰ τῶν θεῶν: The basic concept of Gk. religion at all periods was the conviction that the universe was dominated by an order both physical and moral (*dikē*, *kosmos*) which had to be maintained and which was championed by the gods. Any assault on that order demanded retribution (*tisis*) and would sooner or later receive it. H., who was, for all his Ionian rationalism, a profoundly religious man, viewed the Trojan War and the attendant disasters firmly within this nexus of belief (Introductory n. 99–182; cf. Kaiser in Morenz, *Die Begegnung*, p. 230 ff.).

121–2. The reign of Rhampsinitus. The narrative falls into two sections:

121. The Tale of the Treasury of Rhampsinitus.

122. The Tale of Rhampsinitus' journey to the Underworld.

121. 'Ραμψίνιτον: A compound of the royal name *Rc-mssw*, borne by kings of the XIXth and XXth Dyn., and the common late royal epithet *s' Nt*, “son of Neith” (Introduction, p. 107 ff.; Roeder's objections (*RE* IA, 141) can be discounted). D.S. (I, 62, 5) uses the form *Rhemphis* which dispensed with the second element. Attempts have been made to identify Rhampsinitus with Ramesses II (Sethe, *Sesostris*, p. 6) and Ramesses III (Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, p. 46). Much the wisest policy is to regard him as a composite based ultimately on the Ramesses-Pharaohs of the XIXth–XXth Dyn. but long since transmuted into a figure of legend (for a possible trace of Ramesses III vide infra; in general Introduction, p. 104 ff.).

ὅς μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο ... ἀνδριάντας δύο: For the building-at-Memphis motif cf. n. II, 101. There is abundant evidence of the architectural activity of Ramesses II and III in the Temple of Ptah (Montet, *DG* I, p. 27 ff.; *PM*² I, 2, p. 830 ff.; Smith *et al.*, *JEA* 69(1983), p. 30 ff.). At the point indicated by H. a statue base of Ramesses III was still visible in Petrie's time (*Memphis* I, p. 2).

ἑόντας τὸ μέγαθος ... πήχεων: c. 38 ft. (c. 11.5 m.). They will thus have been comparable in size to colossi of Ramesses II on the same site (n. II, 110).

τὸν μὲν πρὸς βορέῳ ... τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον χειμῶνα: Since H. only mentions two seasons, we must assume that he is referring not to the phases of the Nile (on which vide n. II, 4, 1) but to the two major climatic seasons of the Eg. year, the hot season (May to September, Eg. *šmw*, *Wb* IV, p. 480, 5–14) and the cool season (October to April, Eg. *pṛt*, op. cit., p. 530, 7–8).

τὸν μὲν πρὸς βορέῳ ... θέρος: The connection between summer and the north is probably that the hot season was associated with prevailing northerly winds, the Etesians (n. II, 20; Bonneau, *La Crue du Nil*, p. 37).

τὸν μὲν καλέουσι θέρος ... εὖ ποιέουσι: Presumably because the hot season brought the twin blessings of the inundation and the completion of the harvest, a situation which suggests that the Egs., at least at some levels of society, may have associated the statue with Osiris or at least with creative and life-giving forces (Bonneau, l.c.).

προσκυνέουσι: Vide n. II, 80, 2. Various degrees of obeisance before deities are frequently represented (e.g. Bonnet, *Bilderatlas*, 16, 21, 48, 49, 50, 75, 86, 87, 98, 99).

τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα ... ἔρδουσι: Three factors probably furthered this development:

- (a) During this season the Nile sank slowly to its lowest level.
- (b) It was the season of sowing and, therefore, of the death of the corn (n. II, 79; Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 168 ff.; Barta, *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs*, p. 117).
- (c) The statue's southern position may have suggested a connection with the biting southerly wind, the *Khamsin*, which blows predominantly at this time (n. II, 22, 2; Bonneau, l.c.).

All or any of these points would have been sufficient to connect the statue with Seth or the Typhonic powers (l.c.).

πλοῦτον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεί ... ἐκείνον δὲ Αἰγυπτίων: The Tale of the Treasury of Rhampsitinus. This is constructed around two main themes:

- (a) The discomfiture of the ruler, a common folk-motif (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, H507, I, O.2, K346.1.1) and one which particularly appealed to Eg. taste (Introduction, p. 103).
- (b) The equally common wily-thief motif (cf. II, 150, 2–4: Thompson, op. cit., K301 ff.).

That the *logos* is fundamentally Eg. admits of no doubt (Roeder, *RE* IA, 146) but it has later parallels, in some form, throughout the world (Paris, *RHR* 55(1907), pp. 151 ff., 267 ff.; Aly, *Volksmärchen*, p. 67 ff.), some being so close as to presuppose direct Eg. influence. The strikingly similar Gk. tale of Trophonius and Agamedes (Charax, *FHG* III, p. 637, F. 6; Paus., IX, 37, 5) must owe a great deal to the Eg. prototype, conceivably via the *Telegony*

of Eugammon (Niebuhr, *OLZ* 17(1914), 105 ff.; Kern, *RE* I, 719 ff.), and the same origin is probable for an episode in the Passion of Theodotus (Mayor, *Journal of Philology* 21(1893), p. 70). The Tale of the Master Thief found in modern Eg. folk-lore will also doubtless be a descendant (Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Märchen*, pp. 153, 287 ff.) and the same may hold true even for specimens occurring as far afield as Black Africa, Tibet and Scotland (Elwell, *TAPhA* 21(1890), p. XXV ff.). Caution is, however, essential since many of the motifs in H.'s tale belong to a world-wide stock of folk-motifs (vide infra). Only when they appear combined in the distinctive pattern exemplified in H. are we justified in postulating a legacy.

πλοῦτον δὲ τοῦτω τῷ βασιλείῃ ... οὐδ' ἐγγὺς ἐλθεῖν. Cf. D.S. (I, 62, 5) who confines his remarks on Rhampsinitus/Rhemphs to castigating his greed and meanness of spirit.

βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφαλείῃ ... ὑπὸ ἐνός: A stone chamber within a palace would have been most unusual since Eg. palaces, like humbler dwelling-places, were normally constructed of mud-brick with the exception of such features as door-sills which were particularly subject to wear (n. II, 148). It seems very probable that this stone chamber with its removable stone was inspired by the crypt or secret chambers which were built into Eg. temples from at least the M.K. Most, if not all, of these were probably used as treasuries and were only accessible by means of movable blocks in the temple-walls or floors (Jéquier, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, p. 137; Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 401).

τὸν δὲ ἐργαζόμενον ... ὑπὸ ἐνός: For the many close parallels vide Thompson, op. cit., K315.1.

τῶν τε σημάτων ὄντων σὺν ... κεκλημένον: Eg. doors were normally locked by means of bolts or keys and could, where necessary, be sealed by mud seals stamped with the name of the owner (Roeder, op. cit., 144; Koenigsberger, *Die Konstruktion der ägyptischen Tür*, p. 40 ff.).

καὶ τρεῖς ἀνοίξαντι: On the importance of the formulistic number 3 in H. vide n. II, 123, 2.

πάγας: Animal traps were certainly used in Ancient Egypt (Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. 23-4; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, 33, 53) but their construction and mechanism are unknown.

ἀπορεύμενον ... διὰ θυρῶν φεύγοντα: The wily-thief motif (vide supra, p. 53).

ὄνους κατασκευασάμενον: The ass was the standard beast of burden in Egypt throughout Pharaonic times (cf. Sethe, *Lesestücke*, p. 17 ff. ~ Simp-

son (Ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, p. 31 ff.; Kees, *Ägypten*, pp. 20, 122, 139 ff.).

καὶ ἄσκούς πλήσαντα οἴνου: The use of skins as liquid containers is exemplified in Egypt from as early as the O.K. (Klebs, *AR* p. 116; Couyat-Montet, *Les Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques et Hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, no. 1 ~ *BAR* I, §456; no. 114, 12 ~ *BAR* I, §430; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, IV, 14, 8 ~ Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, II, *The New Kingdom*, p. 74; Tresson, *La Stèle de Kouban*, 11 ~ *BAR* III, §286; Caminos, *LEM* p. 262). The custom was also wide-spread elsewhere in the Near East as well as in S. Europe (Roeder, op. cit., 144).

ὥς δὲ ... κατακοιμηθῆναι: For the many parallels vide Thompson, op. cit., K332.

καὶ τῶν φυλάκων ... παρηίδας: Cf. Thompson, op. cit., K331.2.1. The mention of beards makes it clear that the story-teller did not envisage troops of Eg. extraction (cf. n. II, 36, 1). This element presumably reflects the situation in the L.P. when mercenaries of many nationalities: Carian, Greek, Phoenician, Jewish etc.—figured prominently in the Eg. army (Introduction, p. 14 ff.; n. II, 112, 3; Roeder, op. cit., 145). The robber's insult has an exact scriptural parallel in *II Samuel*, 10, 4-5.

τὴν θυγατέρα ... φεύγοντα: On the prostitution-of-the-daughter motif vide n. II, 126, 1. The substitution motif exemplified here in the use of the arm has many parallels (Thompson, op. cit., K525.1).

ὥς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἀνηεῖχθαι ... ἀνθρώπων: One of several examples in Bk. II of the extremely common reversal-of-fortune motif (vide nn. II, 128, 134).

Αἰγυπτίους ... Αἰγυπτίων: Inordinate self-esteem was not the least prominent of Ancient Eg. habits of mind (cf. Introductory n. II, 102-110).

Bibliography: Elwell, *TAPhA* 21(1890), p. XXV ff.; Mayor, *Journal of Philology* 21(1893), p. 70; Paris, *RHR* 55(1907), pp. 151 ff., 267 ff.; Kern, *RE* I, 719 ff.; Sethe, *Sesostris*, p. 6; Niebuhr, *OLZ* 17(1914), p. 104 ff.; Pieper, *Das äg. Märchen*, p. 49 ff.; Aly, *Volksmärchen*, p. 67 ff.; Roeder, *RE* IA, 140 ff.; Lüddeckens, *ZDMG* 104(1954), p. 330 ff.; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho*, p. 46; Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Märchen*, pp. 153, 287 ff.; Allam, *ZÄS* 91(1964), p. 139, n. 2; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, pp. 167 ff., 422; Froidefond, *Le Mirage Egyptien*, Index, s.v.

122. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ... ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον: The chapter falls into two sections:

1. The Tale of Rhampsinitus' descent into the Underworld.
2. An account of a ritual which the Egs. alleged to be a reflection of the *logos*. If this is correct, the link between the two will be that the Tale of Rhampsinitus' descent is an example of a common category of folk-tale,

viz. the faded myth, and was formed by demythologizing and expanding upon the myth which constituted the conceptual framework of the *hortē* ritual. For some chastening comments on the interrelationship of myth, ritual and folk-tale vide Hyman, "The Ritual View of Myth and Mythic", in Sebeok (Ed.), *Myth. A Symposium*, p. 136 ff.; Thompson, "Myth and Folktales", ib., p. 169 ff.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ... χειρόμακτρον χρύσειον: 1. The descent of Rhampsinitus, an example of one of the many Underworld-motifs which occur in folk-lore throughout the world (Aly, *Volksmärchen*, p. 67 ff.; Thompson, *Motif-Index*, Index, s.v. Underworld).

τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα: Aly plausibly suggests (l.c.) that Rhampsinitus figures in this tale because of the close conceptual links between wealth and the Underworld (cf. Gk. *ploutos* and *Ploutōn*).

ἐς τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Αἴδην νομίζουσι εἶναι: Eg. usually *imnt/imntt* (*Wb* I, pp. 84, 13 and 86, 1 ff.) or *dwst* (op. cit., V, p. 415, 3 ff.). There is a clear tendency in early solar texts to locate these places above ground in the west and east respectively but the progressive Osirianization of Eg. mortuary concepts ultimately transposed them both into the Underworld and thereby made them synonymous (Kees, *Totenglauben*, p. 59 ff.; Vandier, *La Religion Egyptienne*², p. 71 ff.).

κάκειθι συγκυβεύειν ... χειρόμακτρον χρύσειον: The motif where privileges are gained by victory in a game is well known (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, E756.2, R111.1.10). It is particularly common in connection with the journey of the dead to the Underworld (Pieper, *ZÄS* 66(1931), p. 28). Plu. (*DIO* 12(*Mor* 355)) speaks of Hermes winning the 5 epagomenal days (for which see n. II, 4, 1) by playing draughts with the moon. Similarly, in the Tale of the Setem-priest Khaemwese we find the latter *in a tomb* attempting to win a magic book *which guarantees resurrection* by playing draughts with Neneferkaptah (Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III, *The Late Period*, p. 132 ff.). The close affinities of this example with H.'s tale need no expounding.

συγκυβεύειν: Undoubtedly the *snt*-game for two reasons:

1. *Kybeia* and cognates could be used of *any* game played with dice (Austin, *Antiquity* 14(1940), p. 257 ff.; Murray, *A History of Board-Games*, p. 25). *Snt*, often misleadingly called draughts, was played by moving pieces resembling chess-pawns on a board of 30, later 20 or even 12 squares. The moves were, however, determined by throwing dice or knuckle-bones (Meissenburg, *Živa Antika* 22(1972), p. 171 ff.).
2. From at least the N.K. *snt* was closely related to the mortuary cult. This connection is expressed in two ways. Sometimes the deceased is

depicted playing with an invisible adversary, probably Mehen, the serpent-enemy of the dead (*Wb* II, p. 128, 13), doubtless in order to win access to a good after-life (Pieper, *Das Brettspiel der alten Ägypter*, p. 9 ff.). On other occasions the deceased's progress in the Underworld itself is envisaged as movement over a draught-board (id., *ZÄS* 66(1931), p. 16 ff.). This situation will explain the common occurrence of boards and pieces in tombs.

Bibliography: Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 125; Needler, *JEA* 39(1953), p. 60 ff.; Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, p. 493 ff.; Peterson, *ZÄS* 96(1969), p. 79; Helck-Otto, *Kleines Wörterbuch*², p. 69; Meissenburg, *Živa Antika* 22(1972), p. 171 ff.; Kendall, *Newsletter ARCE* 91(1974), p. 30; Pusch, *SAK* 5(1977), p. 199 ff.; id., *Das Senet-Brettspiel im Alten Ägypten (MÄS 38)*.

τῇ Δήμητρι: i.e. Isis (n. II, 59, 2).

χειρόμακτρον χρύσεον: *cheiromaktron*, “a cloth used as a handkerchief”, and then, by extension, “a cloth used as a headdress, kerchief” (*LSJ* p. 1985, s.v.). Several interpretations suggest themselves:

1. Eg. kings and officials are frequently represented carrying a folded cloth in one hand (e.g. Davies, *Ptahhetep*, II, pl. XIII; *LD* II, pl. 104(b); Blackman, *RTM* I, pl. IX; Vandier, *Manuel*, III, pl. LIX, 3; CLXIX, 3). It was probably, in origin, a handkerchief but became a badge of rank. *Cheiromaktron* would be an apt description.
2. During the Festival of Khoiak (for which vide infra) several cloths were woven by Isis and Nephthys, “the Two Weavers”, for the burial of Osiris, e.g. the *dȝyt*- and *ḥt*-cloths (Hopfner, *Tierkult*, p. 53; Chassinat, *Le Mystère*, pp. 477, 487 ff., 585 ff., 750 ff.). The term *cheiromaktron* could be applied to any of these.
3. Egs. of all ranks wore cloths or kerchiefs over their heads; in particular, Pharaoh wore a kerchief made of yellow linen embellished with gores of blue, the famous *nms*-headdress (Winlock, *BMAA* 11(1916), p. 238 ff.). The yellow colour emphasized the king's divine status since gold was associated in Ancient Egypt with divine beings (*Wb* II, pp. 238, 9–12, 15; 239, 3 ff.; 240, 1 ff.; Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen*, p. 57 ff.; Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 216 ff.).

2 seems the least probable alternative since the cloths in question were prepared for Osiris, i.e. the embodiment of dead kingship triumphant in the Hereafter, whereas Rhampsinitus is clearly envisaged as being alive when he returns to this world with the *cheiromaktron*. Of the other possibilities, 3 seems preferable in view of the *nms*'s yellow colour. If this is indeed the correct explanation, the spectacle of Rhampsinitus emerging from the Underworld with a golden *cheiromaktron* obtained from Demeter/Isis would best be interpreted as a paradigm of Pharaoh receiving from his mother Isis the kingly office symbolized by the yellow *nms* (vide infra).

ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥαμψινίτου καταβάσιος ... χωρίον: 2. The festival.

φᾶρος ... ἐξυφάναντες: There are clear parallels in the Osirian Festival of Khoiak (on which see n. II, 61, 1). In connection with this event we hear of a *ḫyt nt hrw wꜥ* (“*ḫyt*-cloth of one day” (Chassinat, op. cit., p. 585 ff.)) as well as an *ꜥt*-fabric which was made on the 20th–21st of the Month of Khoiak, the work beginning at the 8th hour of the night and ending on the 8th hour of the following day (op. cit., p. 477).

κατ’ ὧν ἔδησαν ... ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν χώριον: The explanation of the ritual must depend on the following observations:

1. The blindfolded priest represents the king, i.e. Ḥorus. This emerges from three factors:
 - (a) The congruence with Tale of Rhampsinitus demands it.
 - (b) The blindfolded priest is clearly the central figure in the ritual. That was a rôle which, in theory, devolved upon Pharaoh alone (n. II, 37, 5).
 - (c) The rôle of the wolves would hardly be consistent with any other explanation (vide infra).
2. A sightless Ḥorus immediately recalls Ḥorus of Letopolis who occurs in two forms: *Mḥnty-irty*, “He whose face has eyes”, and *Mḥnty-n-irty*, “He whose face is eyeless”. The latter, sometimes described as “the mummy in the arid land”, is the dead Ḥorus, i.e. Osiris. The former, on the other hand, is Ḥorus in all his strength and majesty, illuminating the earth with his right eye by day and with his left eye by night (Junker, *SBAW* 1942, 7, p. 9 ff.; Bonnet, op. cit., p. 133 ff.). Among other things, therefore, Ḥorus of Letopolis may be regarded as an embodiment of the living and dead king, of duality in unity, and an expression of the eternal reality and unchanging essence of kingship.
3. Isis plays a multiple rôle:
 - (a) *Mḥnty-n-irty*, i.e. Osiris, is taken to her in her capacity as the agent of his resurrection.
 - (b) *Mḥnty-irty*, i.e. Ḥorus, comes from her in her aspect as the personified throne, the source of kingly power.
 - (c) Isis is the mother of Ḥorus to whom he comes and from whom he goes.

Seen against this background, H.’s ritual becomes immediately intelligible. Fundamentally, the rituals enact the dead ruler’s journey to the Underworld and the accession of the new Pharaoh. The blindfolded priest embodies Ḥorus *Mḥnty-n-irty*, i.e. Osiris, the dead king, who is conducted to Isis as the agent of rebirth. The priest, on his return, has then had his sight restored, though H. omits to make this point, i.e. he has become Ḥorus *Mḥnty-irty*, the embodiment of living and triumphant kingship.

τὸν δὲ ἰπέα ... ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν χώριον: The claim that wolves led the priest must refer to priests enacting the rôle of the god *Wp-wꜥwt*, “Way-opener”, though it should be borne firmly in mind, *pace* the Ancients, that his sacred animal

was not the wolf, which does not occur in Egypt, but the jackal (n. II, 67). The major god of the XIIth Nome of U.E., Wepwawet frequently figures as the agent who prepares the way for divine beings, particularly the king. In a context which is identical to that in our passage, he figures as the champion of Osiris as he is brought for burial to his tomb at Abydos (Ikhnofret Stele: Sethe, *Lesestücke*, p. 71, 12~Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, *The Old and Middle Kingdoms*, p. 124). The double Wepwawet is frequently encountered in Eg. texts, one of the pair being the Wepwawet of U.E., the other that of L.E. In general vide Hopfner, *Tierkult*, p. 52 ff.; Bonnet, op. cit., p. 842 ff.

τῆς πόλιος: In view of the foregoing analysis, Letopolis (Ausîm, c. 13 km. N.W. of Cairo) is an obvious possibility.

123. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ... ἀκοῇ γράφω: One of H.'s periodic statements of policy (Introduction, p. 81 ff.). It is doubtless in this case elicited by the intrinsic improbabilities of the preceding narrative.

ἀρχηγετεύειν ... Διόνυσον: Demeter is the Eg. Isis (II, 59, 2; 156, 5), Dionysus the Eg. Osiris (II, 42, 2). Osiris featured as *Hnty-'Imntyw*, "Lord of the Westerners (i.e. the Dead)", as early as the O.K. and retained that position throughout Eg. history (Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 574; Gwyn Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult*, p. 173 ff.). Isis, on the other hand, is not stated to have been Queen of the Dead and she does not function as such but, since, for most of her career, her major rôle was that of the wife of Osiris, H.'s statement is not without some justification and may well reflect contemporary Eg. attitudes.

πρῶτοι ... οὐ γράφω: H. is certainly mistaken in attributing the Gk. doctrine of *palingenesia* to the Egs. His error, like many others, is to be explained by the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy (Introduction, p. 57 ff.; Mallet, *Les Premiers Etablissements*, p. 380 ff.; Stettner, *Die Seelenwanderung*, p. 8 ff.; Ranke, *ZÄS* 79(1954), p. 52 ff.; Kees, *Totenglauben*, p. 6; Morenz, *Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, p. 414 ff.). The belief in transmigration seems to have developed independently in many parts of the world and there is no reason to believe that it was a foreign import into Greece where it maintained itself in some form until the establishment of Christianity (Pearson, *HERE* XII, p. 432 ff.; Stettner, op. cit., p. 1; Nilsson, *GgrR* I, p. 691 ff.). During, and before, the time of H. it was particularly associated with Pythagoras, Empedocles and the Orphics. Pythagoras and his followers taught that the souls of men could be reincarnated in animals (*DK* 21, B7~*KR* 268; cf. D.L., VIII, 4-5~*DK* 14, 8; Porphyrius, *Vita Pyth* 19~*DK* 14, 18a; Arist., *De An* I, 3(407b)), a doctrine which presumably arose from the conviction of the kinship of all living things (Porphyrius, l.c.). Pythagoreans appear to have believed that the process operated on a cyclic

principle according to which the same events periodically recurred in the same form (Porphyrius, l.c.; cf. Eudemus, *DK* 58, B34 ~ *KR* 272), though the length of the cycle is not indicated in any surviving text. Empedocles' teaching introduced several additional elements. For him the soul could be reincarnated in plants as well as animals. Furthermore, for him, reincarnation did not fall to the lot of everyone; it was a punishment for crime and condemned the guilty to a series of rebirths from which it was possible eventually to escape and become a god (*KR* p. 351 ff.). Similar doctrines were also current within the Orphic movement (Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, F. 224; Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, p. 167 ff.).

ἐν τρισχιλίοισι ἔτεσι: This is nowhere substantiated in surviving material but can certainly be accepted; for the number 3 and its multiples loom large in various sources on transmigration: Empedocles gives 30,000 *hōrai* as the length of the period through which the soul must undergo successive reincarnation (*DK* 31, B 115 ~ *KR* 471); we hear that a trial period of three human incarnations must intervene before the soul can achieve divine status (Stettner, op. cit., p. 23 ff.); and an Orphic fragment gives 300 years as the interval which the soul must spend in the Underworld between one incarnation and another (Kern, op. cit., F. 231). In all these cases we are confronted with examples of the well-known and world-wide use of three and multiples as formulistic or significant numbers (Blom, *De Typische Getallen bij Homeros en Herodotos*, pp. 1 ff., 57 ff.; Thompson, *Motif-Index*, VI, p. 791 ff.).

Bibliography: Mallet, *Les Premiers Etablissements*, p. 380 ff.; Zimmermann, *Die äg. Religion*, p. 179 ff.; Hopfner, *Orient und griechische Philosophie*, p. 13; Petrie, *HERE* XII, p. 431; Pearson, ib., p. 432 ff.; Stettner, *Die Seelenwanderung*; Ranke, *ZÄS* 79(1954), p. 52 ff.; van der Leeuw, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, V, 377; Morenz, *Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, p. 414 ff.; Kees, *Totenglauben*, p. 6; Nilsson, *GgrR* I, pp. 691 ff., 701, 745 ff.; Žabkar, *JNES* 22(1963), p. 57 ff.; Guilmo, *RHR* 166(1964), p. 1 ff.; Gwyn Griffiths, *JNES* 25(1966), p. 61; Froidefond, *Le Mirage Egyptien*, p. 187 ff.

124-35. H.'s famous discussion of the Pyramid-builders of the IVth Dyn. (cf. D.S., I, 63,4; Str., XVII, 1, 32-4(C808-9); Plin., *HN* XXXVI, 16, 75 ff.; Mela, I, 55). It is constructed as follows:

124-6. Cheops and the building of the Great Pyramid of Giza.

127-8. Chephren and the building of the Second Pyramid.

129-35. Mycerinus and the building of the Third Pyramid.

On the problem of the chronological displacement of these rulers vide Introduction, p. 188 ff.

The O.K. (IIIrd-VIth Dyns., c. 2686-2181) is the classic age of pyramid-building, though examples do occur well into the L.P. (n. II, 8). There are basically two types: the step-pyramid, which is characteristic of the IIIrd Dyn., and the true pyramid, which is the standard form after that time. The best known example of the former is that of Zoser at Saqqara, though at least two others designed for the burials of kings have been identified

(Sekhemkhet's at Saqqara and Huni's (?) at Meidum, though the latter was subsequently converted to a true pyramid. The precise character of the two pyramids of Zawiyet el-Aryan remains in doubt). There are also four smaller specimens, owners unknown, at Zawiyet el-Mayitin, Seila, Naqada and El-Kula. The most famous examples of the true pyramid are the group at Giza which H. is describing in this section.

In the O.K. the pyramid proper was always built to W. of the valley on the cliffs which H. calls "the Libyan Mt." but it formed only part of a large and elaborate complex which was envisaged as a powerfully charged magical instrument for ensuring the continued life of Pharaoh. It consisted essentially of four major elements:

- (a) The Valley Temple. This was constructed at the margin of the cultivation within the valley itself and, therefore, reached by the inundation at its maximum point of extension. It was equipped with a landing-stage, a *sh ntr*, "embalming chamber" (n. II, 86), and a *w'bt* in which the body would be purified before being carried up to the sacred area to the W.
- (b) The Causeway. This led westwards from the Valley Temple up into the desert. It was usually built of stone, might be roofed and could be embellished with sculptures (vide infra, II, 124, 3).
- (c) The Mortuary Temple. This was reached *via* the causeway and was normally constructed on the east face of the pyramid. It was intended to serve the mortuary cult of the dead king buried within the pyramid and, consequently, contained the necessary cult rooms (offering-chamber, five statue niches etc.) and store-chambers to accommodate the large stock of equipment and materials required.
- (d) The Pyramid. This was the focal point of the complex. The shape was probably the product of two factors: i. Natural evolution from the mastaba tomb *via* the step-pyramid; ii. Theological considerations: the pyramid could be regarded as the representation of the sacred *bnn*-fetish of the solar cult at Heliopolis and, *ipso facto*, as an embodiment of the primeval hill which emerged from the waters of Nun or Chaos at the beginning of the world and from which the Creator God generated himself. Therefore, just as the Creator had come into being at the beginning, so, it was believed, would the king arise from his pyramid to a renewed life. Architecturally it might be solid with the burial chambers and access passages excavated in the subterranean rock or, as with that of Cheops, these installations might be mainly constructed within the body of the pyramid proper. This building and part, at least, of the mortuary temple were surrounded by a wall demarcating the sacred area which might also include several smaller pyramids, intended in some cases for queens, in others probably for ritual purposes. During the O.K. it was also customary to excavate pits near the pyramid in which boats could be buried. The precise function of these vessels is debatable, but they were probably intended for the king's use in the afterlife.

Bibliography (General): Petrie, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*; v. Bissing, *Der Bericht des Diodor über die Pyramiden*; Borchardt, *Die Entstehung der Pyramide. Beiträge zur äg. Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*, I; Reisner, *Giza*, I; Ricke, *Bemerkungen zur äg. Baukunst des alten Reiches*, I-II, *Beiträge zur äg. Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*, 4-6; Schott, *Bemerkungen zum äg. Pyramidenkult. Beiträge zur äg. Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*, 5; Lauer, *Le Problème des Pyramides d'Égypte*; Vandier, *Manuel*, I, 2; II, 1; Helck, *RE XXIII*, 2, 2167 ff.; Lauer, *Observations sur les Pyramides*; Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*; Lauer, *Historie Monumentale des Pyramides à Degrès (III^e Dynastie)*; Maragioglio-Rinaldi, *L'Architettura delle Piramidi Menfite*, I-VI; Fuscaldo, *La Dinastia IV en Egipto según Heródoto*; Fakhry, *The Pyramids*; Goyon, *BIFAO* 67(1969), p. 49 ff.; Lauer, *Le Mystère des Pyramides*; id., *Les Pyramides de Sakkarah*; Arnold, *MDAI(K)* 33(1977), p. 1 ff.; Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt*, p. 232 ff.

124. Χέοπα: Eg. *Hw̄f-w(i) < Hnm-hw̄f-wi*, “May Khnum protect me” (Gauthier, *LR I*, p. 73, IV, VII-IX). Other Gk. names are *Chemmis* (D.S., I, 63, 2 < *Hmn* by assimilation to the *Chemmis/Chembis* of II, 91, Lloyd, *JEA* 60(1974), p. 289; cf. *Chnoubos*, Eratosthenes, *FgrH* 610, F. 1 (no. 12)) and *Souphis* (Manetho, ib., 609, F.2-3b < *Hw̄f-wi* with *H* to *Š* as often and *f* to *φ*: cf. *Saōphis* in Eratosthenes, op. cit., 610, F. 1 (no. 15)). He ruled c. 2596-2573 B.C.

ἐς πᾶσαν κακότητα ... πάντας Αἰγυπτίους: Since hieroglyphic sources provide very little political history for the IVth Dyn. these statements have offered rich opportunities for speculation. The relevant facts may be tabulated as follows:

1. We have evidence of temples of Cheops at Dendera (Wildung, *Die Rolle äg. Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt*, I, p. 189), Bubastis (Naville, *Bubastis*, p. 5; Habachi, *ASAE* Cahier 22(1957), pp. 5, 30, 55, 110) and Coptos (Wildung, op. cit., pp. 163 ff., 173 ff.) and there is also a tradition that he was responsible for the Temple of Isis near the Giza Pyramids (Wildung, op. cit., p. 183 ff.).
2. Cheops' son or grandson Merib was High Priest of Rē (Moursi, *Die Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes*, p. 22) whilst his brother Kanefer and nephew Nefermaat became High Priests of Thoth and Min (Pirenne, *Histoire de la Civilisation de l'Égypte Ancienne*, I, pp. 154 ff., 168).
3. Cheops is associated with the god Thoth in the late Tanis Geographical Papyrus (Griffith-Petrie, *Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis*, pl. XIV, 56).
4. In the Oryx Nome (16th of U.E.) there was a town called *Mnct-Hw̄fw(i)*, “Nurse of Cheops”, even in the M.K. (Montet, *DG* II, p. 160). Had Cheops been such a double-dyed villain as H. depicts him, it is improbable that such a name would have been continued.
5. The mortuary cult of Cheops was practised in the Saite and Persian Periods (Säve-Söderbergh, *Eranos* 44(1946), p. 73; Wildung, op. cit., p. 178 ff.).
6. Cheops figures prominently in the M.K. Westcar Papyrus. Some elements in the portrayal are distinctly unsympathetic (Introduction, p.

- 108 ff.) but there is nothing which we can interpret with any confidence as impiety towards the gods (Wildung, *op. cit.*, p. 152 ff.).
7. The Lamentation Texts of the First Intermediate Period speak of the vanity of the great monuments of the past. It would have been a short step to condemn the men who built them (Posener, *Littérature et Politique*, p. 10 ff.).
 8. The N.K. tale of *Neferkarê and Sisene* may be interpreted as embodying a general feeling of hostility towards a system of royalty of which the pyramids were the most conspicuous expression (Posener, *op. cit.*, p. 11 ff.; *id.*, *RdE* 11(1957), p. 137).
 9. The motif of the tyrannical king is common in folk-tale (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, P12.2.1).
 10. The late pronunciation *Hwfw(i)*, in some parts of the country at any rate, was approximately *Shufu** (vide supra). This might well have suggested such words as *šft/šf* (Copt. ⲩⲱⲩⲥ), "sin" (Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, p. 504), *h̄f/šf* (Copt. ⲩⲱⲩⲥ), "destroy" (l.c.), *Šft*, which occurs as a proper-name meaning "bad-luck" (*op. cit.*, p. 505), or *šft*, "filth, enemy" (l.c.).

Evidently the contemporary material (1 and 2) is at variance with H. Furthermore, data 3, 4 and 5 at the least *indicate* that there was no universally accepted tradition hostile to Cheops even in the L.P. Data 6–9, on the other hand, provide reasonable grounds for suspecting that such a tradition could have developed amongst the mass of the population in some parts of the country and, in view of the undoubted importance of folk-elements in H.'s historical tradition, this seems the most probable solution. It is, however, always possible that there is an element of ecclesiastical hostility involved, though what its basis might have been we cannot say (Introduction, p. 108 ff.; Wildung, *op. cit.*, p. 204).

Bibliography (Cheops tradition): Sethe, *RE* III, 2236 ff.; Cohen, *Mnemosyne* 53(1925), p. 75 ff.; Säve-Söderbergh, *Eranos* 44(1946), p. 73 ff.; Shoukry, *ASAE* Cahier 15(1951), p. 31 ff.; Helck, *RE* XXIII, 2, 2202 ff.; Posener, *Littérature et Politique*, p. 10 ff.; *id.*, *RdE* 11(1957), p. 137; Wolf, *Kulturgeschichte*, p. 111 ff.; Pirenne, *Histoire de la Civilisation de l'Égypte Ancienne*, I, pp. 154 ff., 168; Fuscaldo, *La Dinastia IV en Egipto según Heródoto*, p. 22 ff.; Wildung, *Die Rolle äg. Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt*, I, p. 152 ff.; Morenz, *ZÄS* 97(1971), p. 111 ff.; Froidefond, *Le Mirage Égyptien*, p. 182 ff.

μετὰ δὲ ... πάντας Αἰγυπτίους: The right to exact compulsory service on public works (*corvée*), whether it be irrigation, temple building, royal tombs or military expeditions, was exercised by Pharaoh at all periods (*Urk* I, 209 ff. ~ Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, p. 55 ff.; *BD* VI; Caminos, *LEM* p. 454 ff.; *P. Harris*, I, 79, 10 ~ *BAR* IV, §412; Adams, *Fragen altägyptischer Finanzverwaltung*, p. 50 ff.; Kees, *Ägypten*, Index, s.v. Frondienst etc.). We can, therefore, accept that Cheops called up a considerable proportion of the labour resources of the country without imparting to the operation the sinister overtones of H.'s tradition. That is not, however, to say that the

honour of working on Pharaoh's monuments was always or universally welcomed with joy unbounded!

τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ... πρὸς τοῦτο ἔλκειν: Misleading. Only the casing-blocks were brought from the eastern hills. Most of the stone was quarried on the Giza Plateau (n. II, 8). The transportation of fine limestone from the Mokattam Hills E. of Cairo is frequently mentioned in O.K. texts (e.g. *Urk* I, p. 38 ~ *BAR* I, §239; *Urk* I, p. 99 ~ *BAR* I, §308 etc.). H. refers to two methods of transport, viz. dragging and ships. In the case of the former the blocks were placed on a sledge (examples in Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology*, p. 100; Clarke-Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, p. 89) pulled by men (Newberry, *El Bersheh*, I, pl. XV) or oxen (Daressy, *ASAE* 11(1911), p. 263). The sledge itself was drawn along a slipway of Nile mud lubricated with water (Vercoutter, *Mirgissa*, I, pp. 204 ff.; Chevrier, *RdE* 22(1970), p. 20 ff.; Lauer, *BIFAO* 73(1973), p. 131 ff.; Chevrier, *Actes XXIX^e Congrès des Orientalistes*, p. 29 ff.) and there is also some slight evidence of the use of rollers (Clarke-Engelbach, op. cit., p. 90). By such techniques a gang of 8 men would have been able to move blocks 2½ tons in weight without overmuch difficulty (Petrie, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, p. 82; cf. id., *AE* 1930, p. 33 ff.; Lauer, op. cit., p. 142). As for ships, freighters of various kinds are frequently mentioned as bringing stone from the quarries to O.K. burial grounds (e.g. *Urk* I, 99 ~ *BAR* I, §308; *Urk* I, 106 ff. ~ *BAR* I, §321 ff. etc.). For representations of the type that would have been used in the O.K. vide Goyon, *BIFAO* 69(1971), p. 11 ff., though pictorial evidence abounds for most periods (nn. II, 96).

ἐργάζοντο δὲ ... τὴν τρίμηνον ἑκάστοι: The *trimēnos* mentioned by H. was the standard shift unit in Ancient Egypt (Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 55). He evidently believed that gangs of 100,000 worked for 3-month spells throughout the year but this was almost certainly not the case. The figure 100,000 probably refers to the total work-force called up for corvée on the royal pyramid during the inundation season and probably responsible for stock-piling materials for the whole of the year as well as for construction. During the rest of the year a much smaller permanent work force will have carried on the building of the monument (Petrie, op. cit., p. 82 ff.; Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, p. 282 ff.; Fuscaldo, op. cit., p. 37; Lauer, *BIFAO* 73(1973), p. 127 ff.; on the character of these professional craftsmen see Černý, *A Community of Workmen*; Della Monica, *La Classe Ouvrière sous les Pharaons*; Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im alten Ägypten*). The figure 100,000 has caused some anguish but seems acceptable (Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization*, p. 87, n. 4).

χρόνον δὲ ἐγγενέσθαι ... τὰ δέκα ἔτεα γενέσθαι: H. is evidently describing the causeway leading from the Valley Temple at Nazlet es-Semman to the Mortuary Temple (Introductory n. II, 124–145). It was a feat of engineering

well calculated to excite his enthusiasm, consisting of a limestone corridor approximately 18.35 m. wide, which is remarkably close to H.'s 10 *orgui*ai (c. 61 ft. = c. 18.5 m.), and c. 658.60 m. long, which makes it considerably shorter than H.'s 5 stades (c. 3034 ft. = c. 924 m.; on the discrepancy vide *infra*). The height cannot be established, nor is it clear whether it was roofed like the causeways of Chephren and Unas or unroofed like that of Snofru. It is equally impossible to determine whether it was, as H. indicates, embellished with sculptures, though reliefs of Cheops are certainly found at Giza (Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 134 ff.; Goyon, *BIFAO* 67(1969), p. 49 ff.). H. must, however, be wrong in believing that it was used as a road *κατ' ἣν εἰλκον τοὺς λίθους*; for the risk of damaging its stone-work would have been far too great. H., or his source, has probably confused it with a building-ramp (vide n. II, 125).

τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ... διώρυχα τοῦ Νείλου ἑσαγαγών: Strictly speaking only one of the inner chambers of the Great Pyramid is "below ground", viz. the original burial chamber (Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 119, fig. 27, 2), but in its completed form the pyramid contained within the masonry itself a series of chambers of unparalleled complexity: the so-called Queen's Chamber (l.c., 5), the Grand Gallery (l.c., 4) and the Burial Chamber within which the great stone sarcophagus of Cheops is still to be seen (l.c., 6). H.'s talk of *thēkai* on an island surrounded by water brought by a canal from the Nile is quite without foundation but undoubtedly derives from native Eg. sources; for it reflects the concept of the Osiris-grave (Helck, *RE* XXIII, 2, 2202; Brunner, *ZDMG* 103(1953), p. 25; Barguet, *Kēmi* 16(1962), p. 21 ff.; Fuscaldò, *op. cit.*, p. 22, n. 74; Lloyd, *JEA* 60(1974), p. 286) which was depicted as a hill surrounded by water inside which the god himself was buried (Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 576 ff.). In the Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos such a grave is, in fact, represented in stone within the Osireion. The central part is made up of a great hall 100 ft. (c. 30.4 m.) by 65 ft. (c. 19.8 m.) of which the major feature consists of a stone island surrounded by a deep trench which was once filled with water (Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, p. 16 ff.; Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 247 ff.). Interestingly enough Str. speaks of this water as being brought by a canal from the river (XVII, 1, 42(C813)). In his case and in H. we may be faced with pure deduction but it should be noted that filtration water can find its way even into pyramids and that such a phenomenon observed in any Eg. pyramid-field could have contributed to the tradition (Maspero, *RT N.S.* 6(1916-7), p. 20; Sourdille, *La Durée*, p. 12, n. 1). Since imitations of such Osiris-graves are also found in private tombs at Thebes during the L.P. (no. 33, *PM*² I, p. 50 ff.; no. 34, *op. cit.*, p. 56 ff.; cf. v. Bissing, *ZÄS* 74(1938), p. 16 ff.), the development of the tradition mentioned by H. is easily understood. Intriguingly enough, elements of H.'s description were transmitted into medieval Arabic tradition (Vyse-Perring, *Gizeh*, II, pp. 350, 353 ff.) and have even been recorded in modern Cairo (Allam, *ZÄS* 91(1964), p. 138 ff.).

τῇ δὲ πυραμίδι αὐτῇ ... εἴκοσι ἔτεα ποιευμένη: Contemporary evidence may be tabulated as follows:

- (a) One of the blocks above the King's Chamber (Edwards, op. cit., p. 119, fig. 27, 6) bears the date Regnal Year 17 of Cheops (Petrie, *History of Egypt*¹⁰, p. 60). This indicates that about $\frac{4}{5}$ of the work on the main body of the pyramid was completed by that time.
- (b) A roofing block covering one of the funerary boats of Cheops immediately adjacent to the S. face bears the date Regnal Year 21/2 (Stevenson Smith, *CAH* I³, 2, p. 173). This must surely indicate that all major building work on the pyramid proper was virtually, if not completely, over by that time.
- (c) It should be noted that in a reign of some 24 years Snofru was able to construct two pyramids—the Bent Pyramid and the Great Pyramid of Dashur, a total volume of labour considerably greater than that of the Great Pyramid when one considers the necessary duplication of such features as building-ramps. He was, in addition, responsible for at least the completion of the Meidum Pyramid which may have belonged to his father-in-law Hūni (Stevenson Smith, op. cit., p. 162 ff.). By these standards 20 years would be ample time for building Cheops' pyramid.

Since royal tombs in Egypt were begun at the beginning of a reign, (a) and (b) can safely be taken as indicating the situation after c. 17 and c. 22 of building respectively. In addition, (a) and (b) indicate, at the very least, that the pyramid had reached a state of virtual completion between those two dates. Furthermore, (c) proves that such a rate of production was well within the capacity of Egs. in the O.K. Confidence is further increased by modern estimates which are generally in agreement with H. (Petrie, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, p. 82 ff.; Borchardt, *Die Entstehung der Pyramide*, p. 29 ff.; cf. Edwards, op. cit., p. 283), though we may well wonder from what native sources he derived such information. Evidence from the Great Pyramid of Dashur has, on the other hand, been used against him. Since a date in Regnal Year 21 of Snofru has been read on a *casing block* at the base of the N.E. angle and there is a record of Regnal Year 22 on a *casing block* half-way up the same face, it has been argued that the whole pyramid will have taken about three years to build (cf. Edwards, op. cit., p. 283; Fuscaldo, op. cit., p. 37 ff.). This, however, assumes that casing blocks were added to each level as those levels were completed whereas it is far more likely that the casing was added only after all other work had been concluded (conceded by Fuscaldo, op. cit., p. 38). The pro-H. faction clearly has it!

τῆς ἐστὶ πανταχῇ ... τετραγώνου: The most recent survey gives a length of side varying between 756.08 ft. (230.4 m.) and 755.88 ft. (Edwards, op. cit., p. 118). H. is, therefore, not far wide of the mark.

καὶ ὕψος ἴσον: The vertical height, when complete, was 481.4 ft. (c. 146.7

m.) but the distance up the side is c. 610 ft. (c. 185.9 m.). This is not very close to H.'s figure but, since there was probably no way of obtaining an accurate measurement, this need not surprise us. Presumably H., or his source, has simply assumed that the base and height of pyramids were equal (n. II, 127, 3).

λίθου δὲ ξέστου: The fine limestone casing blocks which must have once covered the Great Pyramid have now all disappeared with the exception of some at the very base of the pyramid (Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Clarke-Engelbach, *op. cit.*, fig. 96), but those surviving on the Second Pyramid into modern times gave it, in Jomard's words, "un poli resplendissant au loin" (*Description de l'Egypte. Antiquités. Descriptions*, V, p. 612; cf. Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*, p. 61).

καὶ ἄρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα: The interior blocks are fitted together with incredible accuracy. The joints show a mean thickness of 0.02 in. while the mean variation from a straight line and from a true square is 0.01 in. on a length of 75 in. Petrie aptly compares such precision to that of a modern optician (*op. cit.*, p. 13).

125. ἐποιήθη ... ἀναβαθμῶν τρόπον ... κρόσσας ... βωμίδας ὀνομάζουσι: "The construction of this pyramid was conducted as follows, viz. after the fashion of flights of steps, which some call *krossai* and others platforms." The general sense is quite clear, i.e. that the pyramids were built initially in the form of a step-pyramid. What, however, are the enigmatic *krossai*? Hesychius (s.v.) has several suggestions: *κλίμακες ἄλλαι ἐπ' ἄλλαις, τὰς κεφαλίδας τῶν τειχῶν, προμαχῶνας, στεφάνας τῶν πύργων*, but his embarrassment is clear. The evidence is sparse:

- (a) The word occurs twice in Hom.: I. II XII, 258. Three points emerge: i. They are part of a series of walled fortifications; ii. The context indicates that they were reached before the Trojans got through the wall, i.e. they are either in front of it or on top; iii. It is the *pyrgoi* which are specifically said to have them. II. II XII, 444. The *krossai* are reached from the front of the wall before the gates are opened.
- (b) There is a closely similar word *krossoi* > *krossōtos*, "tassels", "tasselled".
- (c) Our context itself indicates that they were step-shaped.

Putting this information together we need an architectural feature which is step-shaped and which can be said to "fringe" or "tassel" a fortified wall. This immediately suggests the battlements occurring in the Ancient Near East which show a step-pyramid profile (Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands*, pp. 293, 327; Naumann, *Architektur Kleinasien*², pp. 148, 157, 421). If this is the answer, H. is presumably talking of a type of battlement current in Asia Minor but derived from further E. which later fell into disuse, a situation that would explain why the term has left such

meagre traces in the lexicographic record. For a different explanation vide Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, p. 433.

ἥειρον τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους λίθους ... τὸν λίθον ἐξέλοιεν: Few passages in Bk. II have given rise to so much controversy. The cause of the trouble is the lifting-devices described as μηχαναὶ ξύλων βραχέων πεποιημένοι. At present there is only one method *known* to have been used by the Egs. for lifting, viz. the ramp, remains of which have been found associated with pyramids at Meidum, Abu Gurob, Lisht, Saqqara (Pyramid of Sekhemkhet) and Giza (W. of the Great Pyramid). There is also one leading to the S. face of the Mortuary Temple of Chephren, though this was used for robbing away the stone, not for building purposes. There is also a ramp *in situ* next to the First Pylon at Karnak, a representation of one in the tomb of Rekhmirē at Thebes (XVIIIth Dyn.) and a discussion of how to build one in *P. Anastasi*, I (v. Bissing, *Der Bericht des Diodor über die Pyramiden*, p. 17 ff.; Clarke-Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, p. 91 ff.; Borchardt, *Die Entstehung der Pyramide*, p. 20 ff.; Lauer, *Observations sur les Pyramides*, p. 60 ff.; Dows Dunham, *Archaeology* 18(1965), p. 162 ff.; Koziński, *ZAS* 96(1970), p. 120; Lauer, *BIFAO* 73(1973), p. 131 ff.; Garde-Hansen, *Ingeniøren* 1/74(1974); Reineke, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 2(1975), p. 5 ff.; Isler, *JARCE* 13(1976), p. 31 ff.; Goyon, *Le Secret des Bâisseurs des Grandes Pyramides, Kheops*; Badawy, *JEA* 63(1977), p. 52 ff.). D.S. actually speaks of the construction of the Great Pyramid as διὰ χωμάτων γενέσθαι μήπω τῶν μηχανῶν εὐρημένων κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους (I, 63, 6). These ramps were constructed at right-angles to the face of the pyramid and their surface probably covered by a layer of Nile mud which would be slightly watered and along which the blocks were probably pulled on sledges (vide supra). With a slope of 8–10° 8 or 10 men could have moved a weight of 1 ton using this technique. Since the blocks vary between c. 7 to less than 1 ton, decreasing towards the top, this method would have been perfectly adequate for building the Great Pyramid. Suggestions that H. is referring to rockers (v. Bissing, op. cit., p. 14 ff.; Coulton, *JHS* 94(1974), p. 11), pulleys (Isler, op. cit.) or scaffolding of some sort (Koziński, op. cit., p. 117) are unacceptable since the very existence of the first two has yet to be demonstrated whereas scaffolding could not be described as a lifting device. What then is the explanation of the *mēchanai* of H. and his informants? The talk of iron tools a little later surely provides the answer, viz. we are dealing with a blatant anachronism reflecting Gk. practices. The term *machina* is glossed by Vit. (X, I, 1): *continens e materia coniunctio maximas ad onerum motus habens virtutes*, clearly the derricks or cranes known to have been used by the Gks. from at least the end of the 6th Century (Drachmann, *The Mechanical Technology of Greek and Roman Antiquity*, p. 97; Richter, *Handbook of Greek Art*, p. 8; Coulton, op. cit., p. 7 ff.). It might be argued that cranes would hardly be made ξύλων βραχέων but it should be remembered that the Egs., owing to the deficiencies of native timber

resources, were often compelled to bond short pieces of wood together (cf. H.'s account of the construction of boats from ξύλα ὅσον τε διπήχεα, II, 96, 1). If a Gk. observer inferred the use of the crane, he might well have made the further assumption that it was made up of members constructed of short pieces of wood. If this suggestion is correct, ξύλων βραχέων πεποιημένησι would acquire the status of a *thōma* (Introduction, p. 141 ff.)—it was not simply cranes that were employed but, wonder of wonders, cranes made of small bits of wood!

ἐξεποιήθη δ' ὦν τὰ ἀνώτατα ... ἐξεποίησαν: We can be confident that the last stage would have been polishing the casing-blocks of fine Mokattam limestone. The technique of ramp-construction and the need to avoid damage to blocks already polished would demand that this should be done from the top down and there is positive evidence from the pyramid of Mycerinus that this was in fact done (n. II, 134, 1). Lauer suggests that the process, like the previous adjusting of the casing-blocks, was facilitated by constructing right round the pyramid a mud-brick scaffolding about 1 m. thick, though evidence is not forthcoming on the point (*Observations sur les Pyramides*, p. 57: cf. Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, p. 271).

Bibliography (Construction): Petrie, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*; v. Bissing, *Der Bericht des Diodor über die Pyramiden*, p. 13 ff.; Petrie, *AE* 1930, p. 33 ff.; Clarke-Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*; Borchartdt, *Die Entstehung der Pyramide. Beiträge zur äg. Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*, 1; Reisner, *Giza*, I; Lauer, *Le Problème des Pyramides d'Égypte*, p. 161 ff.; Helck, *RE* XXIII, 2, 2266 ff.; Lauer, *Observations sur les Pyramides*; Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, p. 254 ff.; Lauer, *Histoire Monumentale des Pyramides à Degrés (III^e Dynastie)*, p. 187 ff.; Dows Dunham, *Archaeology* 18(1965), p. 162 ff.; Fuscaldo, *La Dinastia IV en Egipto según Heródoto*, p. 33 ff.; Fakhry, *The Pyramids*, p. 9 ff.; Pincherle, *RAL* 24(1969), p. 195 ff.; Goyon, *BIFAO* 67(1969), p. 49 ff.; Goyon, *RdE* 22(1970), p. 85 ff.; Chevrier, *ib.*, p. 15 ff.; Koziński, *ZAS* 96(1970), p. 115 ff.; Lauer, *BIFAO* 73(1973), p. 127 ff.; Mendelssohn, *BiOr* 30(1973), p. 349 ff.; *id.*, *JEA* 59(1973), p. 60 ff.; Edwards, *ib.* 60(1974), p. 251; Chevie, *Actes XXIX^e Congrès des Orientalistes*, p. 29 ff.; Garde-Hansen, *Ingeniøren* 1/74(1974); Reineke, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 2(1975), p. 5 ff.; Maragioglio-Rinaldi, *Atti Accademia Nazionale Lincei* 30(1975), p. 57 ff.; Isler, *JARCE* 13(1976), p. 31 ff.; Lauer, *BIFAO* 77(1977), p. 55 ff.; Badawy, *JEA* 63(1977), p. 52 ff.; Davey, *ib.* 63(1977), p. 174; Goyon, *Le Secret des Bâisseurs des Grandes Pyramides, Khéops*; *id.*, *BIFAO* 78(1978), p. 405 ff.; Fitchen, *J. Soc. Architectural Historians* 37(1978), p. 3 ff.

σεσήμονται ... ἐν τῇ πυραμίδι: Various possibilities suggest themselves:

- (a) There were and are Pharaonic and Gk. graffiti on the Great and Second Pyramids of which Abd el-Latif wrote in the 12th Century: "The stones were inscribed with ancient characters, now unintelligible... The inscriptions are so numerous, that copies of those alone, which may be seen upon the surface of the two Pyramids, would occupy above ten thousand pages" (Vyse-Perring, *Gizeh*, II, p. 342; cf. Budge, *The Mummy*, p. 409, n. 1). H. might be referring to one of them (Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 90 ff.; Borchartdt, *Längen und Richtungen der vier Grundkanten der grossen Pyramide bei Gise*, pp. 4, 16 ff.; Goyon, *Les Inscriptions et Graffiti des Voyageurs sur la Grande Pyramide*, p. XXVI ff.).

- (b) Khaemwese, one of the sons of Ramesses II, is known to have undertaken restoration work in several pyramid-fields and left inscriptions to testify to his piety (e.g. on the S. face of the Pyramid of Unas at Saqqara). H. may well have seen such an inscription on the Great Pyramid (Helck, *RE* XXIII, 2, 2202; Wildung, *Die Rolle äg. Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt*, I, p. 170).
- (c) An offering stele would have been set up against the east face of the pyramid (Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 7). The inscriptions thereon might have been loosely described as being ἐν τῇ πυραμίδι.

ὅσα ἔς τε συρμαῖν ... τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι: Kings and private citizens often recorded in inscriptions the details of payments in kind made to workmen for executing particular commissions (Kees, *Ancien Egypt*, p. 168 ff.). It seems extremely doubtful that H.'s *hermēneus* is translating a genuine O.K. inscription of this kind since there is no evidence that it was the custom to cut such things on the pyramid itself at that period. It is possible that the text recorded payments made by Khaemwese to his work-gangs during the restoration (Helck, l.c.) but most probably, in view of the alleged contents (vide infra), the *hermēneus* is fabricating as he goes along on the basis of a vague knowledge of the type of material one is likely to encounter in such contexts. Other possibilities would be that the text was an offering-list (cf. Wildung, op. cit., p. 170) or an offering stele (Mallet, *Les Premiers Etablissements*, p. 418; Maspero, *Bibliothèque Egyptologique*, VII, p. 416 ff.) either of which would provide ample opportunities for the ingenious guesswork at which *hermēneis* of all ages have been extremely adept.

συρμαῖν καὶ κρίμμυα καὶ σκόροδα: "radishes, onions and garlic" (cf. D.S., I, 64; Plin., *HN* XXXVI, 17). Radishes and onions are well known in Eg. contexts and frequently occur in the offering-lists as ḥḏw (Kees, op. cit., p. 77; Montet, *Everyday Life*, p. 80; Barta, *Opferliste*, Index, s.v.). They were a major item in the diet of the poorer elements, the radish also being used to make oil (Lucas-Harris, *AEMI*⁴ p. 335 ff.). Pharaonic evidence of garlic is less full but unequivocal: it is mentioned as ḥṯn in *P. Harris*, I (18a, 13-14; Loret, *Sphinx* 8(1904), p. 135 ff.: cf. Copt. ⲱⲭⲏⲛ, Crum, *CD* p. 615, b); Eg. garlic is mentioned in the Pentateuch (*Num* 11, 5); and it continued to be popular in Graeco-Roman times (Crawford, *CdE* 48(1973), p. 350 ff.). On the other hand, no unequivocal physical remains have yet been identified (Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten*, II, p. 60 ff.). However, an inscription which mentioned only these items would be quite extraordinary. Certainly a standard wages-bill of the type mentioned above could not have omitted such items as bread, beer, meat, linen etc. (cf. the Ramesside example discussed by Hamada, *ASAE* 38(1938), p. 217 ff.). We should, therefore, take the interpreter's "translation" with a very large pinch of salt.

ἑξακόσια καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελέσθαι: The *hermēneus* was

either an extremely bad philologist or a bare-faced liar, probably the latter. Neither in the O.K. nor in H.'s time did Eg. state finance operate a money-economy; it functioned as a classic example of the palace-system, viz. a highly centralized organization whereby goods were produced, directly or indirectly, under royal control and a percentage paid into the treasury as taxes or obtained directly by royal officials entrusted with expeditions set up for a specific purpose such as the exploitation of quarries and mines or the conduct of commercial dealings with foreign lands such as Sinai, Punt or Syria/Palestine. By these activities the palace became a great repository of wealth in kind which it could diffuse through the country as and when the need arose. The workmen on the pyramids would have received their wages in kind direct from such government stocks. No purchases in monetary terms would have been involved (in general vide Pirenne, *Institutions*, I-III; Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des alten Ägypten*; Adams, *Fragen altägyptischer Finanzverwaltung*; Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*; id., *SAK* 3(1975), p. 127 ff.).

σίδηρον: The Gk. does not compel us to regard this as more than H.'s assumption. Egypt came late into the Iron Age, the metal not being common there until the Ptol. and Roman Periods (Petrie, *Wisdom of the Egyptians*, p. 93; Forbes, *Metallurgy*, p. 412 ff.; id., *Studies*, IX, p. 222; Lucas-Harris, *AEMI*⁴ p. 235 ff.). The tools employed on the pyramids—and the repertoire was very limited—were made either of stone or copper (Lauer, *Le Problème des Pyramides d'Égypte*, p. 163 ff.; id., *Histoire Monumentale des Pyramides à Degrés*, p. 233 ff.; Edwards, op. cit., p. 262 ff.; Goyon, *BIFAO* 67(1969), p. 71 ff.). The discovery of a piece of iron within the stone-work of the Great Pyramid in no way supports H. since it is probably intrusive (Lucas-Harris, op. cit., p. 236 ff.).

126. ἐς τοῦτο δὲ ἐλθεῖν Χέοπα ... πλήθρου: Cf. II, 121. Clearly an admixture of folk-tale and *Monument-nouvelle* (Introduction, p. 100 ff.; Introductory n. II, 99-182). The motif whereby a woman sells her favours for a particular purpose is one of a series of world-wide motifs connected with prostitution and concubinage. Variants occur where the object of the sale is shoes (Italy and Spain), jewels (Iceland), a human life *vel sim.* (Ireland, Spain, Italy, India, Jewish legend), clothes (Italy), assistance (India) or money (India) (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, T455). In this instance the motif has been attached to a daughter of the king himself under the influence of the anti-Cheops tradition and the presence of the Queens' pyramids next to the Great Pyramid.

ἀργύριον ὀκόσον δὴ τι: Anachronistic and un-Eg. (n. II, 125, 6)—clearly an element introduced either by Egs. or Gks. to make the tale more intelligible to an Hellenic audience (cf. Helck, *RE* XXIII, 2, 2202).

ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν λίθων ... ἔμπροσθε τῆς μεγάλης πυραμίδος: There are the remains of three subsidiary pyramids (G1a, b and c) on the S.E. face in the angle formed by the Mortuary Temple and the Great Pyramid itself, though the normal position was on the S. They were constructed for the queens of Cheops. The northern-most, now badly ruined, was probably intended for the *hmt wrt nt nsw*, "Great Wife of the King" (Meritites?), since it was the only one equipped with a boat-grave, but the owner is not certainly identified. The owner of the second, the one of which H. is speaking, is equally problematic but the tenant of the third is known to have been Henutsen whose mortuary temple was converted in the XXIst Dyn. into a temple of "Isis, Mistress of the Pyramids" (Reisner, *Giza*, I, pp. 3 ff., 16 ff., 70 ff., 129 ff.; Vandier, *Manuel*, II, 1, p. 75 ff.; Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, p. 133 ff.; Stevenson Smith, *CAH*, I³, 2, p. 170 ff.; Maragioglio-Rinaldi, *L'Architettura delle Piramidi Menfite*, IV, p. 76 ff.; Wildung, *Die Rolle äg. Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt*, I, p. 182 ff.). H.'s *Monument-novelle* raises two problems: Why does H. choose the central pyramid, and why does he claim that the owner was a daughter? A possible answer to the first might be the character of the monuments themselves. G1c was certainly used as a shrine in the L.P.; G1a today has, on the other hand, lost $\frac{2}{3}$ of its height whilst G1b is well preserved. Obviously, then, G1c would be unsuitable. If the state of repair of G1a and b, when the legend was formed, were similar to that today, G1b would be much more likely to impress itself on the consciousness. The answer to the second problem may simply be that the story is distinctly more unpleasant if the female is a daughter rather than a wife.

δλου καὶ ἡμίσεος πλέθρου: In fact 49.5 sq. m. (Vandier, *Manuel*, II, 1, p. 75, n. 3).

127. Βασιλεῦσαι δὲ τὸν Χέοπα ... πεντήκοντα ἔτεα: Introduction, p. 187. The Turin Canon gives at least 23 (Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*, pl. II, III, 10), and Manetho 63 (*FgrH* 609, p. 22). D.S. agrees with H. Eratosthenes, on the other hand, gives 29 years (ib. 610, F.1(16)). The latest date in the contemporary monuments, however, is *hꜣt sp* 13 = Regnal Year 25 (Mastabas of Sheshat-se-Khentyw and Khufu-khaf, Stevenson Smith, *JNES* 11(1952), p. 127). Clearly the figures of all the Gk. sources, with the exception of Eratosthenes, are much too high. A possible answer here, and elsewhere (vide infra), is to argue that the Egs. responsible for such traditions had become hopelessly and understandably confused by the O.K. system of dating. Dates are given throughout most of Eg. history in terms of a unit conventionally rendered *hꜣt-sp* (*rnpt-sp* according to Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, §412 ff.; *hsbt-sp* according to v. Beckerath, *ZÄS* 95(1969), p. 88 ff.; *rnpt-hsbt/hbt* according to Barta in Görg-Pusch (Eds.), *Festschrift Elmar Edel*, p. 35 ff.), the unit referring to occasions of taking the cattle-count. This normally took place every other year during the O.K. but was

subsequently held annually. Thus, *hwt-sp* 8 in the IVth Dyn. would normally be Regnal Year 15/16 but in the XIth Dyn. Regnal Year 8 (Gardiner, *JEA* 31(1945), p. 11 ff.; Stevenson Smith, *JNES* 11(1952), p. 113 ff.; id., *CAH* I³, 2, p. 160 ff.). This is complex enough but is rendered even more confusing by the fact that even in the O.K. the rule need not hold throughout a reign. In view of such perplexities it seems perfectly possible that the figure 50 years for Cheops' reign is the result of a scribe's doubling *hwt-sp* 25 on the erroneous assumption that the latter reflected the O.K. system of dating rather than that of his own time.

τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου ... τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Χεφρήνα: There is virtually no doubt that Cheops was succeeded by his son Djedefrē^c (Manetho's misplaced *Rhatoisēs*, *FgrH* 609, p. 24):

1. Djedefrē^c was responsible, at least in part, for, Cheops' obsequies (Nour–Osman–Iskander–Moustafa, *The Cheops Boats*, I, p. 7). These would be performed by his successor.
2. The Abydos and Saqqara King Lists insert Djedefrē^c between Cheops and Chephren (Meyer, *Ägyptische Chronologie*, pl. I). The Turin Canon is damaged at the relevant point but it follows what must be the reign of Cheops with a reign of 8 years (Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*, pl. II, III, 9 ff.). This must surely be Djedefrē^c. An M.K. rock inscription from the Wadi Hammamat gives the same order (Drioton, *BSFE* 16(1954), p. 41 ff.). Djedefrē^c also occurs on one of the Cairo fragments of the Palermo Stone (3, 2) which Sethe places immediately after F.2, 2, which *may* refer to the reign of Cheops (*Urk* I, p. 238), though it would be unwise to place too much reliance on this reconstruction.

These data are sufficient to place the matter beyond reasonable doubt. The facts that Djedefrē^c is omitted from the stele of Meritiotes (de Rougé, *Insc. Hiéroglyphiques*, pl. 62~*BAR* I, §188 ff.) and is mentioned after Cheops and Chephren in a document of the Persian Period (Wildung, *Die Rolle äg. Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt*, I, p. 184 ff., Dok. XXI, 150) are no refutation. The first point may reflect doubts about Djedefrē^c's legitimacy, which was highly questionable (vide infra), and the latter may simply indicate the degree of importance which the kings occupied in the mind of the priest himself, not their chronological order. Whatever the precise historical situation, however, it should be borne firmly in mind that the tradition as presented to H. by the priests also appears in the *Westcar Papyrus* where the succession Cheops, Chephren, Mycerinus, Userkaf is implied (Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, p. 32~Simpson (Ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, p. 26). In the latter case we are almost certainly confronted with a Heliopolitan tradition antipathetic both to Djedefrē^c and Shepseskaf, wherein the priests have chosen *more suo* to ignore the very existence of rulers of whom they disapproved (cf. Introduction, p. 104 ff.).

Bibliography: Gauthier, *ASAE* 25(1925), p. 178 ff.; Reisner, *Giza*, I, p. 28; Stevenson Smith, *JNES* 11(1952), p. 113 ff.; Nour–Osman–Iskander–Moustafa, *The Cheops Boats*, I, p. 5 ff.; Drioton–Vandier, *L'Égypte**, pp. 201 ff., 641 ff.; Stevenson Smith, *CAH*³, I, 2, p. 172 ff.

τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ: In fact Cheops' son (Sethe, op. cit., p. 32; Reisner–Stevenson Smith, *Giza*, II, p. 7 ff.), as at least one late tradition was aware (D.S., I, 64, on *Chabryēs*). The confusion may have arisen because H., or his sources, had heard that Chephren was the brother of his predecessor, viz. Djedefrē. With the removal of the latter from the list this could then have been taken to mean that Chephren was Cheops' brother (Sethe, *RE* III, 2238).

Χεφρῆνα: Eg. *H^c.f-r^c* (Brunner, *ZÄS* 102(1975), p. 94 ff., against Ranke, *JAOS* 70(1950), p. 65 ff.); Gk. *Kephrēn* (D.S., I, 64, 1) and *Chabryēs* (l.c.); *Souphis* (Manetho, *FgrH* 609, p. 24) and *Saōphis* (Eratosthenes, ib., 610, F.1) both with *h* > *š*, *f* > *φ* and loss of *r^c* by assimilation to *Souphis* = Cheops.

καὶ τοῦτον ... τὰ τε ἄλλα: The hostile Chephren tradition will have much the same origins as that of Cheops (vide supra, p. 62 ff.; Wildung, op. cit., p. 200 ff.).

ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν: When complete, the base length of Chephren's pyramid was about 707 $\frac{3}{4}$ ft. (c. 215.7 m.) and its height about 471 ft. (c. 143.5 m.). It was, therefore, only about 10 ft. (3 m.) shorter than that of Cheops, though its base-measurement was about 48 ft. (c. 14.6 m.) less (Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, p. 151 ff.).

ταῦτα ... ἐμετρήσαμεν: For H. and autopsy vide Introduction, p. 81 ff. (The doubts of Armayor on H.'s honesty in such contexts (*JARCE* 15(1978), p. 59 ff.) will justly acquire few supporters). What exactly did H. measure and how? The base would present no problem since it could be measured by pacing, though accumulations of sand would have made an accurate figure impossible, but what of the height? It is possible to calculate the height of a pyramid, as of any vertical object, by the length of the shadow which it casts and it is claimed that Thales was actually aware of this method (*KR* p. 83 ff.). If, however, H. had used this technique, we should have expected a more accurate result. Presumably, H. either assessed the height by eye, or counted the number of casing-blocks and then converted on the basis of the height of the blocks at the bottom. Alternatively, he might simply have assumed that there was a fixed relationship between base and height (vide infra).

οὔτε γὰρ ὑπεστί οἰκήματα ... κείσθαι Χέοπα: Cf. n. II, 124, 4. Since there is no logical connection between this and what precedes, we may well be confronted with an inadequately integrated insertion into the text (Powell, *CQ* 29(1935), p. 77 ff. *et al.*). H. is quite mistaken on the subterranean chambers. There are, in fact, two (Edwards, op. cit., p. 152, Fig. 31, 2 & 3). Presumably he thought that the Second Pyramid was simply a *mnēmosynon*.

ὑποδείμας δὲ τὸν πρῶτον δόμον λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου: The first two *domoi* are made of Assuan granite, usually red but one or two blocks are dark granite (Petrie, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, p. 32; Maragioglio-Rinaldi, *L'Architettura delle Piramidi Menfite*, V, p. 48). It is possible that the upper layers were painted red in imitation of the stone used at the base (Hassan, *MDAI(K)* 28(1972), p. 153 ff.).

τεσσεράκοντα πόδας ... οἰκοδόμησε: An extraordinary piece of Gk. which looks very much like an abbreviated note. As previously (n. II, 127, 2), we may question whether this chapter is not simply a sketch—possibly even an incomplete reworking. Perhaps a fuller version would have given us something like Powell's *ὑποβὰς τῆς ἐτέρης* <τὸ μὴ> τὸντὸ μέγαθος <ἔχειν> (*CQ* 32(1938), p. 213; cf. II, 7, 2). How did H. get the measurement of 40 ft. (c. 12 m.) for the difference in height between the Gt. and the Second Pyramid? It can hardly be coincidence that the difference in base length was about 48 ft. (c. 14.6 m.) (vide supra) which could easily have been measured at approximately 40 ft. if we consider that the base would probably have been piled high with sand in H.'s time. Surely H. found, after pacing the respective bases of the two pyramids, that they differed by about 40 ft. and then simply assumed that the difference in height was the same. In support of this suggestion it should be noted that he certainly thought that the base and height of the Gt. Pyramid were equal (II, 124, 5). A more ingenious, if patently fallacious treatment, is that of Verrall, *CR* 12(1898), p. 195 ff.

ἐστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου ... ὑψηλοῦ: Reisner describes the area as "a promontory of nummulitic limestone bounded on the south by a sandy *wadi* which descends south of the Third Pyramid, and on the north by a large *wadi* on which the northern face of the rock plateau abuts in several steeply terraced cliffs" (*Giza*, I, p. 1).

βασιλεῦσαι δὲ ... ἕξ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα: So also D.S., I, 61, 1. Manetho gives 66 (*FgrH* 609, p. 24) and Eratosthenes 27 years (ib., 610, F.1). The latter is not far from the latest year-date on contemporary monuments, viz *h't-sp* 13 = Regnal Year 25/6 (Stevenson Smith, op. cit., p. 174; on the method of dating n. II, 127, 1). We can, therefore, confidently ascribe to Chephren a reign of about 26 years. The explanation for H.'s high figure may be the same as that suggested for Cheops (vide supra, p. 91).

Bibliography: Petrie, *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, p. 32 ff.; Verrall, *CR* 12(1898), p. 195 ff.; Sethe, *RE* III, 2238 ff.; Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren*; Helck, *RE* XXIII, 2, 2205; Vandier, *Manuel*, II, 1, p. 45 ff.; Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, p. 140 ff.; Stevenson Smith *CAH* I³, 2, p. 174 ff.; Maragioglio-Rinaldi, *L'Architettura delle Piramidi Menfite*, V, p. 42 ff.; Wildung, *Die Rolle äg. Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt*, I, p. 200 ff.

128. τούτους ὑπὸ μίσεος ... ὀνομάζειν: H. and other Gk. travellers may have encountered sheer ignorance in many quarters since it is perfectly

possible that the names of the real builders were not known to the bulk of the population (Wildung, *Die Rolle äg. Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt*, pp. 163, 165 ff.).

καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας ... Φιλίτιος: Cf. II, 134 ff. It has been suggested that this passage preserves a dim memory of the Hyksos, the so-called "Shepherd Kings" of the Second Intermediate Period (e.g. How-Wells, *Commentary*, I, p. 230 ff.; Waddell, *Herodotus II*, p. 233), but there are serious objections to this view:

1. It must depend on one of two unwarranted assumptions:

- (a) that Manetho's mistranslation of *Hyksōs* as "Shepherd Kings" (*FgrH* 609, F.8, 82) was ancient enough to give rise to such a tradition as early as H.'s visit;
- (b) that Eg. tradition somehow remembered the nomadic origins of the Hyksos, despite the fact that the history of their activities in Egypt very far from reflected these affinities (vide Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 155 ff.; Hayes, *CAH II*³, I, p. 54 ff.).

In fact, neither in Manetho, apart from the mistranslation of the name, nor in the Tale of Apophis and Seqenenrē, the only known reflection of the Hyksos rule in Eg. story (Introduction, p. 102 ff.), is there any connection with sheep.

2. Everything that survives in Eg. tradition on the Hyksos is hostile (Gardiner, l.c.). Since Philitis is being *contrasted* with Cheops and Chephren, he would clearly not fit that picture.

There is, as it happens, a much more plausible alternative. Surely we are faced with a tale derived from the humblest stratum of Eg. folklore, probably a rags-to-riches story of a common wish-fulfilment type like the English tales of Tom Hickathrift (Jacobs, *English Fairy Tales*, p. 173 ff.), Johnny Gloke (op. cit., p. 191 ff.) and the Pedlar of Swaffham (op. cit., p. 204 ff.). The name Philitis could be derived from various Eg. prototypes (e.g. *Prt*, Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, p. 134; cf. Lüddeckens in Marg, *Herodot.*, p. 441) but, whatever its origin, it is worth noting that a name such as Philitis could well have been interpreted by an Egyptian speaker as referring to animal husbandry if he connected it with the phrase *p:-nr-i:wt*, "herdsman" (*p:-nr->Phi-l-* (Vergote, *Phonétique Historique de l'Egyptien*, pp. 64 ff., 105.); *i:wt>i* (cf. Copt. *нγ, нoγ*, Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 47)).

129. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ... Μυκερίνον ἔλεγον: So also the Abydos and Saqqara King Lists (Meyer, *Ägyptische Chronologie*, pl. I), Manetho (*FgrH* 609, p. 24) and Eratosthenes (ib., 610, F. 1(17)). The Turin Canon, however, seems to give an order of succession for the IVth Dyn. which runs: Snofru, Cheops, *x*(probably Djedefrē), Chephren, *x*, *x*(a king with a reign of probably 28 years), *x* (four years), *x* (two years) (Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*, pl. II, III, 9-16). Since the king with the 28-year reign can

hardly be anyone but Mycerinus, the Turin Canon evidently indicates the reign between Chephren and Mycerinus. Manetho (l.c.), on the other hand, gives an order *Souphis* (Chephren), *Mencherēs* (Mycerinus), *Rhatoisēs* (Djedefrē), *Bicheris*, *Sebercherēs* (Shepseskaf) and *Thamphthis*; Eratosthenes offers *Saōphis* (Chephren), *Moscherēs* (Mycerinus), *Rhauōsis*, *Biuris* (op. cit., F. 1(18)). Furthermore, a M.K. graffito provides a list which runs Cheops, Djedefrē, Chephren, Djedefhor and Baufrē (Drioton, *BSFE* 16(1954), p. 41 ff.). Confused though this position may be, it is possible to detect glimmerings of the truth. The following points are crucial:

1. The Turin Canon and Manetho both give eight kings.
2. Baufrē and *Bicheris*/*Biuris* are clearly identical.
3. There is excellent evidence that *Sebercherēs*/Shepseskaf was the immediate successor of Mycerinus (Stevenson Smith, *CAH* I³, 2, p. 177).
4. *Rhatoisēs*/*Rhauōsis* (Djedefrē) has obviously been displaced in Manetho and Eratosthenes and must be restored to the third position (Introductory n. II, 127, 1).

Since the Turin Canon and Manetho both give eight kings, it is justifiable to start with the working hypothesis that they reflect a closely similar chronological tradition. Let us try to fit the royal names of the latter into the gaps of the former. Since *Rhatoisēs* has been displaced and since there is good reason to believe that Shepseskaf followed immediately upon Mycerinus, *Bicheris*/*Biuris* has probably been displaced also. If so, he must belong before Mycerinus or after Shepseskaf. If we place him after Shepseskaf, we still have a reign to account for in the Turin Canon between Chephren and Mycerinus. The alternative procedure will solve this problem, giving us a succession, Baufrē, Mycerinus, Shepseskaf, and is also consistent with the Wadi Hammamat graffito. The disparity between the Hellenistic sources and the Turin Canon probably arose from a desire to preserve the neat scheme whereby the three great pyramid builders of the IVth Dyn. came together. We may, then, conclude that, as early as the Turin Canon, there was a *tradition*, even if not a universally accepted one, that a ruler probably called Baufrē occupied the throne before Mycerinus. On the assumption that Eratosthenes, who gives *Biuris* 10 years, is consistently too high in his IVth Dyn. reign-lengths by 4–5 years, the reign may have been given as much as 5 years in Eg. records. If this is true, one may well wonder how he could have ruled as long as that without leaving identifiable traces in the archaeological record, though he would become a strong possibility as the builder of the Unfinished Pyramid of Zawiyet el-Aryan. At all events, we can assume with some confidence that Mycerinus' accession was surrounded with all the confusion of a protracted dynastic squabble and was nothing like as smooth as H. suggests.

Μυκερίνων: D.S. likewise but also *Mencherinos* (I, 64, 6); Manetho *Mencherēs* (*FgrH* 609, p. 24); Eratosthenes *Moscherēs* (ib., 610, F. 1(17)); Eg. *Mn-k:w-r* (Gauthier, *LR* I, p. 130 ff.).

Χέοπος παῖδα: Actually the grandson. He was the son of Chephren. The reason for the error may be that one of the individuals responsible for the tradition found in H. was aware that Mycerinus was the brother of his predecessor (Baufrē? vide supra), mistook that predecessor for Chephren and then wrongly inferred that Cheops was Mycerinus' father. This assumes that this stratum in H.'s chronology derives ultimately from a different source from II, 127,1, i.e., internally consistent though H.'s picture may be, it is the product of misunderstandings at various levels (cf. Introduction, p. 186 ff.).

τὸν δὲ τὰ τε ἰρὰ ἀνοῖξαι ... ἐπιτηδεύοντι: There are probably several factors contributing to this pro-Mycerinus tradition:

1. The relative smallness of his pyramid may have suggested that he had reversed the oppressive policy of his predecessors (Helck, *KP* III, 1514; Lauer, *Histoire Monumentale des Pyramides d'Egypte*, I, *Les Pyramides à Degrés* (*III^e Dynastie*), p. XII).
2. Since Chs. XXXb, LXIV and CXLVIII of the *BD* were said to have been found in the time of Mycerinus, he assumed the rôle of a benefactor as "der König, zu dessen Zeit die Geheimnisse des Totenbuchs zum ersten Mal den Menschen geoffenbart wurden" (Wildung, *Die Rolle äg. Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt*, p. 223). Consequently in Gk. times he figures as the founder of a temple of Asclepius S. of the Temple of Hephaestus (i.e. Imhotep) at Memphis (*POxy* XI, 222-3; cf. H.'s τὸν δὲ τὰ τε ἰρὰ ἀνοῖξαι). It is, therefore, highly significant that his alleged remains were reburied in Saite times in a coffin covered with passages from the *BD*.

Of the two factors, the second is probably the more important. At all events, there are many scarabs (protective amulets) bearing his name from Saite times and later (Gauthier, *LR* I, p. 99 ff., XX-XXIII; in general Donadoni, *Acme* 12(1959), p. 177 ff.; Wildung, op. cit., p. 214 ff.).

δίκας δέ σφι ... τὸν θυμόν: This element in the tradition derives, in part, from Mycerinus' reputation for erudition (vide supra) but has certainly been affected by folk-tale in which justice frequently figures as a royal attribute and the clever judicial decision is a prominent feature (e.g. Solomon, *I Kings*, 3 ff.; Thompson, *The Folktale*, p. 266). The statement that Mycerinus satisfied the discontented litigant from his own pocket is closely paralleled by the motif whereby the judge pays the fine himself to stop the squabbling between the parties to a suit (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, J1179.9). In general vide Thompson, op. cit., J1170 ff.

πρῶτον κακῶν ἄρξαι ... τέκνον: For the second *kakon* vide II, 133. Mycerinus had a son called Khunerē who, as the offspring of the Chief Wife Khamernernebt II, must have been crown prince. He apparently predeceased his father. Shepseskaf (vide supra, p. 76 f.) was certainly a son

and Khentkaues, wife of Userkaf, the first king of the Vth Dyn., probably a daughter (Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 239 ff.; Stevenson Smith, op. cit., p. 176 ff.). Again, therefore, the genealogy would appear to be erroneous. On the other hand, the insistence that Mycerinus had lost his only child considerably strengthens the tale's pathos and sources of the type accessible to H. are more likely to be interested in such human dimensions than in historical accuracy.

ποισασθαι βοῦν ... τὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν θυγατέρα: H.'s sources for the wooden cow are highly heterogeneous: 129, 3 was acquired from the priests, probably of Memphis (Introduction, p. 40); 130 and 131, 3, emanate in part from priests in Sais (the description of the statues as εἰκόνες τῶν παλλακῶν τῶν Μυκερίνου), in part generally from autopsy (the description of the statues); the rest probably derives from current tradition (οἱ δέ τινες λέγουσι, 131, 1). This situation helps to explain the hybrid nature of the *logos* in which there are at least two strata:

- (a) an account of a *tʿ Rmnt* figure kept in the palace at Sais and used in the Festival of Khoiak;
- (b) a *logos* extant in H.'s time in several versions which connected *tʿ Rmnt* with the daughter of Mycerinus.

(a) *tʿ Rmnt*. The description of the cow (129, 3; 132) and its clear connection with an annual Osiris festival (132, 2–3) make it quite clear that we are dealing with a *tʿ Rmnt* figure (Chassinat, *Le Mystère*, p. 599). At Dendera during the festival of Khoiak (on which vide n. II, 61) one of the ritual objects, *tʿ Rmnt*, consisted of the statue of a cow, one cubit long, made of sycamore, covered with gold and crowned with the Osirian *ʿtf*-crown. Its neck was adorned with imitation flowers of lapis-lazuli, it was hollow and it contained an image of a headless mummy (Chassinat, op. cit., p. 65 ff.; Sauneron, *Les Fêtes Religieuses d'Esna. Esna V*, p. 299, n. 4: cf. D.S., I, 85, 3; Plu., *DIO* 39(*Mor* 366)). The cow clearly represented Isis who was identified in the L.P. with many cow-goddesses such as Hathor and Shentayet (Bonnet, *RÄRG* pp. 328 ff., 404 ff., 495; Gwyn Griffiths, *Plutarch. De Iside et Osiride*, p. 449 ff.), whereas the mummy was an embodiment of the dead Osiris. Cow goddesses frequently figure in Eg. religion as mortuary deities, protecting the dead, nourishing them and restoring them to life (Bonnet, op. cit., p. 403 ff.); it is clear that in the *tʿ Rmnt* rituals Isis is presented as functioning in precisely this capacity on behalf of the dead gods interred within her image. The presence of such an object at Sais is not at all surprising since the cult of Osiris was firmly rooted there and played a major part in the religious life of the city (n. II, 170).

130. αὐτῇ ὦν ἡ βοῦς ... ἐοῦσα: *Oratio recta* not *obliqua*. Therefore, it is presumably not the priests of II, 99–142 (Introduction, p. 89 ff.) who connect the tale of Mycerinus' daughter with the Saite cow. The link may have been made by the Gks. or the Egs. but, in all probability, not by

someone with any knowledge of basic Eg. theology (vide infra and cf. v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, II, p. 106).

ἐν τοῖσι βασιλῆίοισι ἐν οἰκῇματι ἡσκημένῳ: Why a palace rather than a temple? Either H.'s memory played him false or the palace had its own *t' Rmnt* in a special shrine which was brought out once a year to participate in the rituals of Khoiak (cf. 132, 2-3).

θυμῆματα: n. II, 40.

νύκτα δὲ ἐκάστην ... παρακαίεται: n. II, 62.

ἄγχοῦ δὲ τῆς βοῦς ... οἱ ἐν Σαῖ πόλι ἱρέες: There is no reason why the statement of the Saite priests should be anything more than the product of a leading question (cf. Introduction, p. 92 ff.). It would, however, be surprising if Mycerinus had not been brought into some relationship to Sais in view of the pervasive antiquarianism of the Saite Dyn. and his renowned association with matters religious (n. II, 129). He may well have been regarded as the originator of the cow or the statues. Be that as it may, it should be clearly understood that the priests' statement on the statues *need* not imply assent to the tale of the cow. When viewing them, H. may have asked, on the basis of previous knowledge, "Are these the daughters of Mycerinus?", and, having received an affirmative answer, he may have left the matter there.

ἐστᾶσι μὲν γὰρ ξύλινοι κολοσσοί ... γυμναὶ ἐργασμένοι: Such statues are well known and usually of very high quality (Vandier, *Manuel*, III, pl. IV, 1-4; V, 3; XIII, 2; XV, 2; XVII, 2; XIX, 2; XXVI, 2; XLII, 8; XLIII, 3; XLIX, 1-4, 7; L, 1-4; LI, 1-2; LIV, 3; LV, 3-4; LXXXI, 4-6) but it is questionable whether they are as naked as they look: "... en général, la tunique est si mince que le modelé du corps apparaît d'une manière très détaillée, et qu'il arrive même que la femme semble être nue" (op. cit., p. 111). However, concubines can certainly be represented naked (op. cit., p. 238) and naked young girls also occur (op. cit., pl. CXL, 4; CXLI, 3, 6-7; CLXX, 5; CLXXIII, 3). We are not well informed on the furniture of Eg. palaces at any period but we may well wonder what the function of such a group of 20 or so statues could have been. Since such figures were normally employed in mortuary contexts, it seems possible that they formed part of a ritual mortuary installation for Osiris interred within the wooden cow.

αἵτινες μέντοι εἰσὶ ... τὰ λεγόμενα: Introduction, p. 83.

131. οἱ δὲ τινες ... ἔπαθον: (b) *The Tale of Mycerinus' Daughter*. This story is an amalgam of folk-tale and *Monument-nouvelle* (cf. Introductory n. II, 99-182). The incest-motif is world-wide and occurs in many variants

(Pieper, *RE* XVI, 1, 1028; Aly, *Volksmärchen*, p. 68 ff.; cf. Rank, *Das Inzest-Motiv in Dichtung und Sage*; Thompson, *Motif-Index*, V, p. 383 ff.). The handless statues are themselves the likely origin of the grisly episode of the serving maids.

οἱ δέ τινες λέγουσι: The nature of this source is quite unclear.

ταῦτα δέ ... τῶν κολοσσῶν: An unstated reason for disbelieving the tale of the hands is probably H.'s conviction of the humanity of the Egs. (cf. Introduction, pp. 85, 88, 163).

ταῦτα γὰρ ὦν ... ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ: Vide Introduction, p. 164.

132. ἡ δὲ βοῦς ... ζωή: There are two elements at variance with the description of the *ἱ* *Rmnt* at Dendera: the headdress (solar-disc instead of the *ἱ*tf-crown) and the size (life-size instead of one cubit). Neither point, however, can be taken to disprove the identification. Size was irrelevant for cult purposes. As for the headdress, the cow was the embodiment of Isis (n. II, 129, 3) and the iconography could alter according to the aspect which an Eg. artist wished to emphasize at the time: the *ἱ*tf-crown, which was closely, though not exclusively, associated with Osiris (Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 57 ff.; Strauss, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, III, 814), would presumably serve to emphasize the Osirian dimensions of the cult object; the solar disc, on the other hand, would reflect the fact that Isis had been assimilated by H.'s time to such deities as Hathor, Shentayet and Methyer who are frequently endowed with this attribute (Bonnet, op. cit., pp. 277, 404, 459). Intriguingly enough, Methyer, whose cult was extremely important at Sais (n. II, 61), is also represented and described as showing most of the other characteristics mentioned in this chapter (Lanzone, *Dizionario*, pl. II; Mallet, *Le Culte de Neit à Sais*, p. 62, n. 1; Davies, *Temple of Hibis*, III, pl. 3, reg. 7; Jéquier, *Considérations*, p. 190 ff.; Schwartz, *BSFE* 15(1954), p. 27; Sauneron, *Les Fêtes Religieuses d'Esna, Esna V*, p. 268 ff.: cf. *JEA* 55(1969), pl. VIII, 1-4).

ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα ... ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι: The god is Osiris and the event the Festival of Khoiak (n. II, 61, 1; Sauneron, op. cit., p. 299, n. 4: cf. Plu., *DIO* 52(*Mor* 372)).

φασὶ γὰρ δὴ ... τὸν ἥλιον κατιδεῖν: An aetiological legend based on a complete misunderstanding of the Khoiak ritual.

133. ἐλθεῖν οἱ μαντήιον ... κείνον δὲ οὐ: The prophecy-motif is common in folk-lore (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, VI, p. 613 ff.). Here we have two variants:

(a) The death-prophecy-motif (Thompson, op. cit., M341). Two common

elements, both found here, are the prophecy of death at, before, or within a certain time (M341.1) and the prophecy of an early death (M341.1.2).

(b) The downfall of a king is foretold (M342.1).

ἐκ Βουτουῦς πόλιος: The most trusted of all Eg. oracles (n. II, 83).

ἐξ ἔτα μούνον βιούς τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τελευτήσιν: The Turin Canon is mutilated at the relevant entry but probably gave Mycerinus 28 years (Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*, pl. II, III, 14). Therefore, H.'s figure is probably far too low. The most likely explanation is that it is yet another element derived from folk sources since the number 7 and multiples thereof are frequent in such prophecies as in other folk and religious contexts (Thompson, op. cit., M341.1.1.2; M341.1.2.5; M341.1.4.3.1: VI, p. 688 ff.). The oracle probably emanated from Eg. sources for two reasons:

- (a) The clarity of the pronouncement is untypical of Gk. oracles (Klees, *Die Eigenart des griechischen Glaubens an Orakel und Seher*, pp. 31, 60).
- (b) Since no known Gk. oracular response prophesies the *date* of death, it is unlikely that a Gk. would have devised it (Klees, l.c.).

τὸν δὲ δεινὸν ποιησάμενον ... τελευτήσιν: Mycerinus' indignation here and his behaviour below may not fit the official view of Pharaoh as the obedient son of the gods (cf. Donadoni, *Acme* 12(1959), p. 178 ff.) but the obstinate refusal to accept an oracular response can certainly be paralleled in Eg. texts (cf. B.M. Papyrus 10335, Blackman, *JEA* 11(1925), p. 249 ff.; Klees, op. cit., p. 36). Here, as in II, 174, 2, we are probably confronted with the attitudes of the ordinary Eg. Such behaviour is quite un-Gk. "Wenn er (sc. Herodot) etwa Menschen schildert, die sich mit Skepsis und probeweise mehrerer Orakel gleichzeitig bedienen, handelt es sich ausschließlich um Barbaren" (Kirchberg, *Die Funktion der Orakel im Werke Herodots*, p. 116 ff.) or again: "... kennt die Tragödie nicht die Möglichkeit, sich in untragischer Weise einem Schicksal zu fügen" (op. cit., p. 46, 2).

δεῖν γὰρ Αἴγυπτον ... καὶ ἐκατόν: Oracles or prophecies foretelling misfortune for Egypt are well known, e.g. the *Prophecy of Neferty* (Introduction, p. 104; Simpson (Ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, p. 234 ff.), the *Potter's Oracle* (Lloyd, *Historia* 31(1982), p. 50 ff.) and the tradition of the lamb which prophesied disaster in the time of Bocchoris (Krall, *Festgaben zu Ehren Max Büdinger's*, p. 3 ff., reign of Augustus).

ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα ... ἡμέραι ποιεύμεναι: A variant of the prophecy-fulfilled motif whereby an unsuccessful attempt is made to prevent a forecast from coming true (e.g. the exposure of Oedipus and the tale of the birth of Cypselus, H., V, 92. In general Thompson, op. cit., M370 ff.).

λύχνα ποιησάμενον πόλλα: It is possible that this owes something to the common Eg. ritual of the *lychnokaiē* (on which vide n. II, 62; Wiedemann, *Kommentar*, p. 483 ff; Donadoni, *Acme* 12(1959), p. 178) but the suggestion is hardly necessary. If Mycerinus is to give the gods the lie and make 6 years into 12, some such device would be obligatory.

πίνειν τε καὶ εὐπαθεῖν: Again it is the inner logic of the tale which demands this element but it should be remembered that drunkenness was a state to which considerable theological importance was attached. Several O.K. work gangs, including one of Mycerinus (Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 274, 1-13), bore names like "King x-is-drunk", the idea being that the all-pervading power of the divine king occasionally needed taming and that purpose could be achieved by inebriation (n. II, 39, 4; Brunner, *ZÄS* 79(1954), p. 81 ff.). Godron suggests that the Boston head of Mycerinus actually portrays the debonnaire young king at the beginning of his reign (*BIFAO* 62(1964), p. 61) but this notion is based on the unwarranted assumption that H.'s tradition actually reflects historical circumstances.

ἐς τε τὰ ἔλεια: At all periods of Eg. history the marshes of the Delta and those of the valley itself served as playgrounds for the privileged where hunting and fowling could be had in abundance (Klebs, *AR* p. 35 ff.; id., *MR* p. 52 ff.; id., *NR* p. 75 ff.; Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 82 ff.; Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script*, p. 1 ff.; Donadoni, op. cit., p. 178; Montet, *Everyday Life*, p. 125 ff.; Decker, *Die physische Leistung Pharaos*, p. 38 ff.). H. may also have had in mind rather less athletic jollification like that in the *kyamos* marshes described by Str. (XVII, 1, 15 (C 799 ff.)).

καὶ τὰ ἄλσέα: Groves of acacia and, particularly in the Memphite area, palm are common in Egypt and provide welcome shade and protection from the heat of the day (Kees, op. cit., p. 78 ff.). They would have made ideal "places of enjoyment" to a people as enamoured of nature as the Egs. (cf. Daumas, *Les Mammisis des Temples Egyptiens*, p. 222 ff.).

134. πυραμίδα δὲ καὶ οὗτος κατελίπετο: The Third Pyramid of Giza to the S.W. of that of Chephren.

τοῦ πατρός: sc. Cheops according to II, 129, 1. The base area of Mycerinus' pyramid is less than a quarter of that of Cheops (Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, p. 161).

εἴκοσι ποδῶν ... τριῶν πλέθρων: i.e. 280 ft. (c. 85.2 m.). The true measurement is 356½ ft. (c. 108.5 m.) (Edwards, l.c.).

λίθου ... Αἰθιοπικοῦ: The body of the pyramid is composed of blocks of local fossiliferous limestone. It is only the first 16 courses of casing which

are made of Assuan granite (*lithos Aithiopikos*), i.e. c. $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total. The remainder of the casing was of fine Mokattam limestone, though none has remained *in situ*. This, unlike the granite, was planed off, a situation which confirms H.'s statement on the order of work at II, 125, 5 (Petrie, *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, p. 33 ff.; Reisner, *Mycerinus*, p. 247; Maragioglio-Rinaldi, *L'Architettura delle Piramidi Menfite*, VI, p. 34 ff.).

Bibliography: Petrie, *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, p. 36 ff.; Reisner, *Giza*, I; id., *Mycerinus*; Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, p. 156 ff.; Vandier, *Manuel*, II, 1, p. 62 ff.; Maragioglio-Rinaldi, *L'Architettura delle Piramidi Menfite*, VI.

τὴν δὴ μετεξέτεροί φασι Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδώπιος ἐταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι: Cf. D.S., I, 64, 14; Str., XVII, 1, 33(C808); Ael., *VH* XIII, 33; Ath., XIII, 596b–d; Plin., *HN* XXXVI, 82; *POxy* XV, 1800, 1, 7 ff.; Lucian, *Salt* 2; Ov., *Her* XV, 63 ff.; Suid. and Phot., s.v. Ῥοδώπιος ἀνάθημα. There is no unanimity on the details. D.S. (l.c.) claimed that the pyramid was built “out of affection” by nomarchs who had been Rhodopis’ lovers. Str. (l.c.: cf. Ath., l.c.) distinguished between Doricha and Rhodopis, connecting D.S.’s version exclusively with the former. Rhodopis, on the other hand, he alleges to have been a Naucratile who became Queen of Egypt and was honoured with a pyramid after death (cf. Ael., l.c.). Whether H. had access to either of these traditions or nothing more than the statement in the lemma it is quite impossible to tell. At all events, the major ingredients in the developed legend are easily unravelled:

1. The basic historical framework of Rhodopis’ journey in Egypt was provided by Sappho (n. II, 135, 6).
2. The *obeloi bouporoi* displayed in the most frequented spot at Delphi (n. II, 135, 4) must have done much to promote and maintain the story of Rhodopis’ wealth throughout the Gk. world.
3. Rhodopis’ success would facilitate contamination by common folk-motifs such as “das Märchen von der Erhebung des schönen Mädchens aus niedrigem Stande” (Aly, *Volksmärchen*, p. 69), Reversal of Fortune (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, L100 ff.) and the Slipper-Motif (op. cit., T11.4.2).
4. In addition to Rhodopis’ connection with the Third Pyramid D.S. (l.c.) mentions traditions that the Great Pyramid was built by *Armaios* (probably Manetho’s *Armais/Armesis* of the XVIIIth Dyn. who was identified with Danaus, *FgrH* 609, p. 40 ff.), the Second by *Amōsis* (Manetho’s version of H.’s Amasis, op. cit., p. 50 ff.) and the Third by Inarus (cf. Introduction, p. 38 ff.). This indicates that tales had developed, in Gk., Eg. or mixed milieux, inspired by the urge to connect the Giza pyramids with figures of significance in recent or relatively recent Eg. and Gk. tradition.
5. Between the causeways of Mycerinus and Chephren stands the unusually large and elaborate mastaba tomb of Queen Khentkaus, sometimes known as the Fourth Pyramid of Giza (Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*,

- IV, p. 1 ff.; Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, p. 166 ff.; *PM*² III, 1, p. 288 ff.), i.e. there was an atypical Queen's tomb near the Third Pyramid.
6. Rhodopis was undoubtedly confused in late tradition with Queen Nitocris of the VIth Dyn. (n. II, 100).

Given these data, we may postulate the following genesis for Rhodopis' connection with the Third Pyramid: 1 and 2 would have provided a firm basis for the tradition of her brilliant success and this would have been promoted and coloured by 3. 4 would favour the attribution of the Third Pyramid to a figure well known to Gks. and 5 would facilitate the choice of a woman. The far-famed courtesan of Naucratis would be an obvious candidate. Once this step had been taken the tradition could then have been consolidated by contamination from the Nitocris legend (6).

Bibliography: Borinski, *Philologus* 67(1908), p. 606 ff.; Aly, *Volksmärchen*, p. 69; Stecchini, *AJA* 59(1955), p. 177; Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, p. 45 ff.; Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, pp. 102, 122 ff.; Coche-Zivie, *BIFAO* 72(1972), p. 116 ff.

οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες: For similar refutations of a received *logos* cf. II, 2, 16, 45.

οὐδὲ ὧν οὐδὲ ... ἀναισίωνται: *Tekmērion* 1. Detailed exposition is deferred, rather untidily, until the subsequent chapter.

πρὸς δὲ ... Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο: *Tekmērion* 2. Argument by chronology (Introduction, p. 165). The proposition that Rhodopis was a contemporary of Amasis (570–26 B.C.) is based on two arguments:

1. Since Aesop can be shown to have been a fellow slave, she must have been his contemporary (δούλη δὲ ἦν ... Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο). He is claimed to have been a contemporary of Pherecydes by Heraclid. Pont. (*FHG* II, p. 215); his *floruit* is placed in O1. 52 by Diogenes Laertius (I, 72); and according to Eusebius he was killed in O1. 54 (Helm, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, p. 102b; cf. *IG* XIV, 1297, 15, which dates his death to the year in which Peisistratus became tyrant at Athens).
2. Rhodopis was contemporary with Sappho (n. II, 135).

κατὰ Ἀμασιν: Ael. (l.c.) makes Rhodopis a contemporary of Psammetichus. It is intriguing that in one tradition the Second Pyramid is ascribed to Amasis (vide supra). The precise relationship between this fact and the Rhodopis legend is impossible to determine.

Ἰάδμονος: *Admon* in Suid. (s.v. Ῥοδώπιδος ἀνάθημα), *Idmōn* in Heraclid. Pont. (op. cit., p. 216, X), Plu. (*De Sera Num Vind* 12 (*Mor* 556)) and the Schol. ad Ar., *Av* 471.

ἐπείτε γὰρ πολλάκις ... Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο: Aesop had insulted the Delphians, according to the earliest version, by stating that they did not

gain their living by agricultural labour but from the proceeds of the sacrifices. In high dudgeon they avenged themselves by hiding a sacred *phialē* in his baggage. When he had departed, they followed him, found the *phialē* and accused him of *hierosylia*. He was then taken to a rock near the temple, from which the *hierosyloi* were normally thrown, and executed, for which crime they were visited with *aphoria gēs* and all manner of diseases. At the behest of the oracle they sent the embassies to all Gk. religious gatherings to make the request described by H. and thereby remove the *miasma* incurred by their actions (*testimonia* in Perry, *Aesopica*, I, p. 220 ff.). Since the Delphic embassies would have been an event of the recent past (c. early 5th Century on the chronology of this passage), and are, therefore, not likely to have been fictitious, we may assume that the Delphians regarded the tradition of the killing of Aesop as hard fact but the suspicious similarities to the scape-goat sacrifice and the frequency with which similar tales are told of Delphi, even if one omits more dubious arguments, provide ample justification for suspecting the historicity of the whole affair (Wiechers, *Aesop in Delphi. Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie*, II; Perry, *Gnomon* 34(1962), p. 620 ff.; id., *Babrius and Phaedrus*, p. XLII ff.).

135. 'Ροδῶπις δὲ ... Σαφφούς τῆς μουσσοποιού: *Tekmērion* 2, 2. Rhodopis was a contemporary of Sappho (c. 612–c. 550 B.C., Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, p. 223 ff.; Saake, *Sapphostudien*, p. 37 ff.). Sappho's F.5 and 15b both speak of her brother's indiscretions, F.15b naming the woman as Doricha. Page considers it probable, however, that H.'s tradition is based on more than the poem/s from which these fragments derive for two reasons:

1. Their tone and H.'s πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν cannot easily be squared.
2. 135, 6, speaks of the vituperation as taking place after Charaxus' return to Mytilene whereas the fragments refer to him as being absent (op. cit., p. 48 ff.).

The identification of Sappho's Doricha and Rhodopis, though frequently disputed, is supported by epigraphic evidence (vide infra), Rhodopis probably being Doricha's nickname. We may compare Mnesarete who also had a monument at Delphi and was nicknamed Phryne διὰ τὴν ὠχρότητα. Plu. aptly comments πολλὰ δ' ὥς ἔοικε τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀποκρύπτουσιν αἱ παρωνυμῖαι (*De Pyth Or* 14(*Mor* 401): cf. Page, op. cit., p. 49, n. 1).

Ξάνθew τοῦ Σαμίου: For Samians in Egypt vide Introduction, pp. 24, 29, 32 ff., 118, and n. II, 178, 3.

ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου: For Lesbians in Egypt vide Introduction, p. 26, and n. II, 178, 2.

καὶ κάρτα ἐπαφρόδιτος ... ἀντίον δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νηοῦ: An archaeological *tekmērion* for which vide Introduction, p. 164. According to Athenaeus

(XXX, 596c) the dedication was made in the name of Doricha but a stone base at Delphi bears an inscription in Phocian characters of c. 530 B.C. which can be restored [... ἀνεθ[έ]κε Ποδ[ῶ]πις] (Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, p. 102).

ὀβελούς βουπόρους πολλούς σιδηρέους: Spits are well known as sacred artifacts:

1. In the Argive Heraeum a cache of probably 180 was unearthed bound together in bundles of 32 by iron bands at each end. Each spit was 1.20 m. long (Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, I, p. 61; Svoronos, *Journ. Internat. Arch. Num.* 9(1906), p. 192 ff.; Pomtow, *RE SB V*, 74 ff. no. 128). As found, the cache would have fitted H.'s *συννεέσθαι* admirably (Payne, *Perachora*, I, p. 259).
2. In the temple of Hera Limenia at Perachora and elsewhere inscriptions referring to spit-dedication have come to light (Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 258 ff.; Jeffery, *op. cit.*, p. 122 ff.).
3. Spits also appear in scenes of sacrifice (e.g. Beazley, *Panmaler*, pl. 8, p. 12, n. 17).

Some dedications will have been intended for use, though this was probably not the case with those in the Heraeum (Payne, *op. cit.*, p. 259). In some cases they may have been “monetary” gifts since spits were used as a medium of exchange in Archaic times (Waldstein, l.c.; Svoronos, *op. cit.*, p. 192 ff.; Karo, *ib.* 10(1907), p. 289; Robinson, *CPh* 20(1925), p. 343 ff.; Courbin, *Annales, Economies, Sociétés, Civilisation* 14(1959), p. 209 ff.; Austin-Vidal-Naquet, *Economic & Social History of Ancient Greece*, no. 22). It is, however, possible that, by Rhodopis’ time, spit-dedications had simply become a standard way of testifying to one’s devotion to the god or of leaving a personal memorial in a sacred spot (cf. Jeffery, *op. cit.*, p. 124).

ὀπισθε ... αὐτοῦ τοῦ νηοῦ: Similarly Athenaeus (l.c.) who locates it in the immediate vicinity of the Acanthian Treasury. The altar of the Chians, 8 m. long, 5 m. broad, 4 m. high, was dedicated c. 475 and became one of the most sacred in the whole Gk. world. Since the area around it was highly conspicuous, it was a favourite place for dedications (Kirsten-Kraiker, *Griechenlandkunde*⁵, I, p. 259 ff.).

φιλέουσι δέ κως ... ἑταίραι: Athenaeus concurs (l.c.: cf. XV, 675e ff.).

Ἀρχιδίκη: *Archedikē* in Ael. (*VH XII*, 63) and Athenaeus (XIII, 596d). According to the former she was *ὑπερήφανος καὶ δεινῶς φορτικὴ καὶ ἄδρους ἦται μισθοῦς*.

136. Μετὰ δὲ Μυκερῖνον ... ἀποδέξασθαι: The survival of the reign of Asychis or Sheshonk (Shishak) I in Eg. tradition is easily explained. Undoubtedly the greatest of the First Millennium Pharaohs, not only did he

reunify the country after the divisions of the XXIst Dyn. but he also conducted a highly successful campaign to Palestine, which must have raised hopes of resuscitating Eg. imperial sway in the area. In addition, he reopened close relations with Nubia. These achievements, united with an energetic building programme within Egypt which had few parallels after the N.K., would have been more than sufficient to fix him indelibly in Eg. historical consciousness where his immediate precursors and descendants left hardly a trace.

Bibliography: Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 324 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*⁴, p. 522 ff.; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, p. 287 ff.

Μετὰ δὲ Μυκερῖνον ... Ἄσυχις: For chronology vide Introduction, p. 186 ff. *Asychis* is evidently the Eg. Sheshonḳ I of the XXIIInd Dyn. who ruled c. 945–24 B.C. for several reasons:

1. D.S. mentions a *Sasychis*, clearly Sheshonḳ, as a law-giver (I, 94, 3). H.'s *Asychis* figures in the same context.
2. *Asychis* would be an easy corruption of *Sasychis*.
3. Josephus informs us that the Eg. king *Asōchaios* conquered and sacked Jerusalem (*BJ* VI, 10; cf. *AJ* VII, 105 and VIII, 210 where the form *Isōkos* occurs; Phot., *Bibl* 300b). This feat was achieved by Sheshonḳ I c. 926 B.C. (*I Kings*, 11, 40; 12, 2; cf. *Chron* 10, 2; *LD* III, pl. 252–3a; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, p. 293 ff.).
4. H. locates *Asychis* immediately before *Anysis* and the Ethiopian kings. The former is probably equivalent to the XXIIIrd Dyn., the latter are certainly the Pharaohs of the XXVth Dyn. (nn. II, 137–40).

In the face of these data, the suggestion that *Sasychis* must be *Nfr-kꜣ-Skr* of the IIInd Dyn. must be regarded as an ingenious but implausible guess (Seidl, *Einführung*, p. 60). The same holds true of Wiedemann's equation with Bocchoris (*Kommentar*, p. 490) and Waddell's identification with Shepseskaf (*Herodotus Book II*, n. ad loc.). It is, however, possible that the *form* of the name *Asychis* owes something to the late name *šꜣ-iḥt* (Kees, *Das Priestertum*, p. 177; Malinine-Posener-Vercoutter, *Catalogue des Stèles du Sérapéum*, p. 48 ff., no. 52).

Bibliography: Stern, *ZÄS* 23(1885), p. 93, n. 1; Pietschmann, *RE* II, 1703, 1879; Kees, *RE* IIA, 1855 ff.; Lüddeckens in Marg, *Herodot*, p. 451 ff.; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, pp. 172 ff., 366.

τὸν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ... προπύλαια: Cf. n. II, 101 for this common motif. Blocks of Sheshonḳ I have been found in the S.W. corner of the *temenos* (Petrie, *Memphis I*, pl. XXX and p. 12 ff.) and at an unspecified find-spot in the southern part of the temple (id., in Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, pl. LVII, fig. 24). This, combined with Sheshonḳ's evident enthusiasm for building enterprises, justifies confidence in H.'s report. We may guess that the *propylaea* lay on the E.–W. processional way a little to

the W. of the pylon of Ptolemy IV (for which vide map, Petrie, *Memphis I*, pl. I). Sheshonk's activity at Memphis was part of an extensive programme of building following, and financed by, his successes in Palestine (vide supra). Traces of his work are in evidence elsewhere in Thebes, Herakleopolis, El-Hibeh and Tell el-Maskhutah (Kees, *RE* IIA, 1855 ff.; Kitchen, op. cit., p. 300 ff.).

ἔχει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάντα προπύλαια ... μακρῷ μάλιστα: H. refers to the relief sculptures and the hieroglyphs which always embellished Eg. *propylaea* and testified to the martial prowess of Pharaoh in defeating his enemies and, *ipso facto*, those of the cosmic order (Introduction, p. 99 ff.). That the quality of craftsmanship could be very high in Sheshonk's reign is demonstrated by reliefs at Karnak (*LD* III, pl. 252–5) and Silsileh (op. cit., pl. 254c).

ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ... θάψαι: The Gk. tradition on Sheshonk the law-giver (vide supra) has no counterpart in extant Eg. records (Lüddeckens, op. cit., p. 452) but this is no reason to deny its Eg. origin. It is an example of the legislator-king motif which figures frequently in Classical accounts of Egypt (D.S., I, 94; Seidl, *Einführung*, p. 60). It is largely a reflection of the ideal of kingship (cf. Introduction, p. 96 ff.; Introductory n. II, 102–110) but must also owe something to folk-sources, both Gk. and Eg. (Introductory n. II, 108–9; Thompson, *Motif-Index*, D1711.1.1, 1711.7, 1711.7.1, 1819.1.1; H540.2–3, 548.1; J52.2, 55; M301). Indeed, the prominence of the “wise-ruler” in early traditions on Gk. history (Lloyd, *JEA* 63(1977), p. 153) suggests that Gk. observers would have been particularly sensitive to such elements in native tradition.

ἀμειξίης ἐούσης πολλῆς χρημάτων: H. is obviously thinking in terms of a money-economy but it should be remembered that, even in the 5th Century, the Eg. economy was based on barter (n. II, 125, 6). It is possible that we are confronted with a vague tradition of the internal political and economic situation preceding the reign of Sheshonk when the country dissolved into two weak and precarious kingdoms—U.E. under the theocratic rule of the High Priests of Thebes and L.E. under the XXIst Dyn. based at Tanis (Černý, *CAH*³ II, 2, p. 643 ff.; Gardiner, op. cit., p. 317 ff.; Kitchen, op. cit., pp. 3 ff., 255 ff., 287.). Alternatively, the references might be to the disruption characteristic of the latter part of the XXIInd Dyn. (Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., p. 526 ff.; Gardiner, op. cit., p. 330 ff.; Kitchen, op. cit., p. 313 ff.).

γενέσθαι νόμον Αἰγυπτίοισι ... θάψαι: This law is not exemplified in Pharaonic times but there is clear evidence that corpses and tombs were used to secure loans in Ptol. and Roman Egypt (D.S., I, 93, 1; Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, p. 456; Wilcken, *UPZ* I, p. 97 ff.; Taubenschlag,

*The Law of Graeco-Roman Egypt*³, pp. 30, 276; cf. Seidl, *Einführung*, p. 48, n. 232). The use of a corpse as security is also exemplified outside Egypt during the Roman Imperial Period (Mitteis, l.c.).

ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ βουλόμενον ... ἐξεποίησαν: Although the tomb of Sheshonk has yet to be discovered, we can be confident that it was not a pyramid. It is probably situated in the Royal Necropolis in the S.W. corner of the *temenos* of the Temple of Amūn at Tanis and will have conformed to the pattern of the tombs already unearthed. These consisted of a subterranean part including the burial chamber and a superstructure which must originally have taken the form of a mortuary chapel (cf. n. II, 169, 3-5) but which was later supplanted by a mud-brick construction (Montet, *La Nécropole Royale de Tanis*, I-III). The ingredients in H.'s strange tale are not difficult to isolate and derive from several sources:

1. Pyramids were typical royal funerary monuments at several periods in Eg. history (Introductory n. II, 124-35).
2. In the M.K. and later they were often made of a core of mud-brick which was then faced with high quality limestone (Edwards, *The Pyramids of Egypt*, p. 218 ff.).
3. The limestone facing-blocks could carry inscriptions and/or graffiti (n. II, 125, 6), though they would never take the form of the "translation" recorded in H.
4. Pharaohs of the XXIst and XXIIrd Dyn. broke with the N.K. mortuary practice by constructing their tombs within the precinct of their capital at Tanis instead of in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes (vide supra). This development will have led to the ascription of a remarkable tomb to Sheshonk, the only Pharaoh of that period to leave a major impression on Eg. historical consciousness.
5. Folk-lore, as usual, has played its part. The paradox-motif whereby the apparently inferior surpasses its apparent superior is common (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, L140 ff.). Folk-tales also frequently lay stress on the remarkable materials from which objects are made (op. cit., F700 ff.). We might also compare the many examples of the building-motif (op. cit., B572.1; D1565.2; F451.3.4.1.1; G303.9.1.13; H1104, 1104.2, 1131, 1133; J67.1).

137-40. The reign of Anysis. This narrative contains the usual complex amalgam of history and legend:

Historical elements: Anysis seems to embody the kings of the XXIIIrd Dyn. (n. II, 137, 1): The account of his survival in the marshes of the Delta during the Ethiopian hegemony probably reflects the survival of the semi-independent Pharaohs in that area throughout that period and also harmonizes with the age-old Eg. custom of withdrawing to the marshes in times of danger or hardship. The Sabacos-tradition is even more firmly rooted in history; the protagonist is clearly the Nubian

Pharaoh Shabaka who serves as a symbol for the entire XXVth (Ethiopian) Dyn.; the benevolent character of his reign closely reflects the conditions of the period (n. II, 137); the length of his reign is almost identical with the duration of the permanent Ethiopian presence in Egypt; and the key-rôle of the oracle in II, 139, looks like a reflection of the immense importance of that institution in the Nubian kingdom. Finally, although the topography of Bubastis cannot be attributed to either king, we may include in this historical section the striking description of the city in II, 137, 5 and 138 where it figures prominently as a *tekmērion*.

Legendary elements: These are liberally intermingled in the narrative. Blindness is frequently exemplified in folk-lore as are the wise-king motif of II, 137, 3, and the prophetic dream and command of the vision in II, 139, 1. The rôle of the *spodos* in II, 137 is not so easily paralleled but its origin in the rich wells of oriental fancy admits of no doubt.

Bibliography: v. Gutschmid, *Kl. Schriften*, I, pp. 117 ff., 127 ff.; Moret, *De Bocchori Rege*, p. 29 ff.; Pietschmann, *RE* I, 2653 ff.; Roeder, *RE* IA, 1523 ff.; Hall, *CAH* III, p. 251 ff.; Meyer, *SPAW* 28(1928), p. 495 ff.; Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrien*; Weber, *PhW* 1941, p. 235 ff., 285 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 7 ff.; Leclant-Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 51(1952), p. 1 ff.; Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les Sacerdotes et les Sanctuaires Egyptiens à l'Epoque Dite Ethiopienne*; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 5 ff.; Wainwright, *The Sky-Religion*, p. 39 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Egypte**, p. 537 ff.; Leclant, *Montouemhat*; id., *Recherches sur les Monuments Thébains de la XXV Dynastie Dite Ethiopienne*; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, pp. 173 ff., 366 ff.; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, p. 362 ff.

137. ἄνδρα τυφλόν: On the blindness-motif in folk-lore cf. n. II, 111.

ἐξ Ἀνύσιος πόλιος: Unidentified but probably located in the N.E. Delta:

1. At II, 166, 1, H. mentions a city called *Anytis* (v.l. *Anysis*) which must lie in the E. Delta (n. ad loc.) and which could be identical with the *Anysis* of II, 137 (Lepsius, *Chronologie*, p. 311 ff.).
2. The city of Herakleopolis Parva, which lay somewhere in the N.E. Delta in the vicinity of Tanis, bore the Eg. name *Nni-nsw* (Ass. *Hininši*; Heb. *חֲנִינִשׁ* *Hānēs*; Copt. *ⲁⲛⲛⲉⲥ/ⲁⲛⲉⲛⲛⲁⲥ/ⲁⲛⲉⲛⲁⲥ*; Ar. *Tennīs* (Gauthier, *DG* III, p. 93 ff.; IV, p. 84; Sourdille, *La Durée*, p. 66 ff.; Clédat, *BIFAO* 22(1923), p. 135 ff.; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 176*; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, p. 374, n. 749)). This could easily have been Hellenized as *Anysis*.

τῷ οὐνόμα Ἄνουσιν εἶναι: A personal name unexemplified elsewhere but cf. the closely similar *Anysios* (Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, 37). Scholars have tended to identify *Anysis* with Bocchoris of the XXIVth Dyn. since he was the Pharaoh deposed by Shabaka (cf. Fruin, *Man. Seb. Reliquiae*, p. 123; Moret, *De Bocchori Rege*, p. 29 ff.; Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, p. 9; Wainwright, *The Sky-Religion in Egypt*, p. 40). This seems improbable. The data are as follows:

1. In H.'s tradition the career of the Eg. king Anysis began immediately after the reign of Sheshonk I (II, 136) and ended sometime after the expulsion of the XXVth Dyn.
2. The first phase of Anysis' reign falls between those of Sheshonk I (II, 136) and Shabaka (vide infra). During that period our records speak of two native dynasties: the XXIIIrd (Tanite) and XXIVth (Saite) (Kitchen, op. cit., p. 348 ff.).
3. From the beginning of the XXIIIrd Dyn. to the rise of the XXVth semi-independent Eg. kinglets maintained themselves in various parts of the Delta (Kitchen, l.c.). Therefore, in some areas there was at no time any intermission in native Eg. rule (cf. v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 175).
4. None of the known kings of these dynasties and none of the known kinglets of this period bore a name comparable with, or corruptible into, "Anysis" (cf. Kitchen, op. cit., p. 467 ff.).
5. There is reason to believe that the *city* of Anysis lay in the Tanite area (vide supra).

The most economical interpretation of these hints would be that Anysis is a composite figure (4) embodying reminiscences of the XXIIIrd Dyn., based on Tanis (2 and 5), and, at the same time, reflecting the persistence of Eg. rule in sections of the Delta throughout the period of Ethiopian and Assyrian domination (1 and 3). If this interpretation is correct, the personal name "Anysis" probably arose simply by transference from the place-name (cf. v. Gutschmid, *Kl. Schriften*, I, p. 117; Pietschmann, *RE* I, 2653 ff.).

ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ... Σαβακῶν τὸν Αἰθίοπων βασιλέα: H. is referring to the Nubian invasion of Egypt under Shabaka c. 715 B.C. Like other Classical authors (cf. D.S., I, 65; Manetho, *FgrH* 609, p. 48 ff.), he shows no knowledge of the earlier Nubian incursions whereby Kashta extended his hegemony into the Thebaid c. 750 and Piankhi (Piye) achieved a short-lived mastery of the entire country c. 728. It is not, however, surprising that Shabaka should dominate the later tradition since it was he who established a lasting Nubian dominion in Egypt. Having invaded in Regnal Year 2 (c. 715), probably in response to a real or imaginary threat posed by Bocchoris of Sais, he had conquered the whole of Egypt as early as c. 714. It should be noted, however, that the Nubians did not impose a rigorously centralized administration; for it is evident that petty vassal-kings were left in possession of the E. Delta, presumably to keep watch on the dangerous eastern marches.

Bibliography: Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrer*, p. 9 ff.; Leclant-Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 51(1952), p. 1 ff.; Roeder, *RE* IA, 1523 ff.; Arkell, *A History of the Sudan*², p. 110 ff.; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 334 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*⁴, p. 537 ff.; Shinnie, *Meroe*, p. 29.; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 174; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, p. 362 ff.; Trigger, *Nubia*, p. 144 ff.; Adams, *Nubia, Corridor to Africa*, p. 260 ff.; Hofmann-Vorbichler, *Der Äthiopienlogos bei Herodot.*, p. 75 ff.

Αἰθίοπας: “Nubians” (n. II, 29).

Σαβακῶν: Eg. *Št-bt-k* (Gauthier, *LR* IV, p. 12 ff.); Ass. *Sha-ba-ku-u*. The name, which is certainly not Eg., is thought to derive from an African language (Roeder, op. cit., 1523 ff.). He was the brother and successor of Piankhi.

φεύγοντα ἐς τὰ ἔλεια: On this area vide n. II, 92, 1. The Delta marshes were at all periods a favourite refuge of the political or criminal refugee. In H.’s lifetime the rebel Amyrtaeus maintained himself successfully there against the Persians for several years (Introduction, p. 47) and in the Graeco-Roman Period we frequently hear of the withdrawal of discontented peasants into the marshes (*anachôrêsis*) in the face of the fiscal rapacity characteristic of the period (Bell, *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*, Index, s.v. *Anachôrêsis*; Tarn–Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, p. 199 ff.; Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, II, p. 898).

ἐπ’ ἕτεα πενήκοντα: Shabaka ruled from c. 716–02 B.C. (Kitchen, op. cit., p. 468). H.’s figure probably refers to the fifty-year period which elapsed between the Ethiopian conquest of Egypt, which was completed c. 714, and the accession of Psammetichus I in 664, which could be taken as marking the death-knell of Ethiopian domination if not its termination (Introduction, pp. 14 ff., 189 ff.; cf. Leclant–Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 51(1952), p. 27).

ὅκως τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ... τῶν ἀδικεόντων: Cf. D.S., II, 65, which obviously derives from H. On the lawgiver Pharaoh vide n. II, 136, 2. H. reflects the standard pro-Ethiopian tradition purveyed in Classical authors (cf. II, 137; D.S., I, 60 and l.c.). This has several ingredients:

- (a) *Eg. Historical Experience.* There can be no doubt that this is of major importance since the tradition in question fits admirably with everything we know of the Ethiopian kings in that they figure as models of the Pharaonic ideal: they built on a considerable scale in temples, particularly Taharqa who has left monuments from Tanis in the Delta to Gebel Barkal beyond the Fourth Cataract (Zeissl, op. cit., pp. 14, 27, 30 ff.; Kitchen, op. cit., p. 388 ff.); they displayed a profound devotion to Amon-rē and other Eg. deities as well as great scrupulousness in all religious observances (n. II, 29, 7; *Urk* III, 14, 36 ff., 53 ff. ~ *BAR* IV, pp. 426, 436 ff., 443; Drioton–Vandier, op. cit., p. 537; Kitchen, op. cit., p. 380 ff.); furthermore, in their policy of promoting architectural restoration, their taste for archaism and their interest in copying ancient texts they showed a deep reverence for the past; finally, they were for decades Egypt’s bulwark against the Assyrians to whom they were regarded as being infinitely preferable (Weber, *PhW* 1941, 235–8, 285–88; Leclant, *RdE* 8(1951), p. 115; Goossens, *CdE* 22(1947), p. 239

ff.; Kitchen, op. cit., p. 391 ff.). This historical dimension was probably supplemented by two further factors:

- (b) *Eg. Myth.* Even to the Egs. Nubia was a mythical land which was regarded as having particularly close affinities with the divine (Kákosy, *Annales Univ. Budapest: Sect. Hist.* 8(1966), p. 3 ff.).
- (c) *Gk. Myth.* From at least the 8th Century B.C. the Gks. regarded the Ethiopians as a semi-fabulous people with whom even gods consorted (*Il* I, 423; XXIII, 206; *Od* V, 282; cf. H., III, 18, 20–24; D.S., III, 2; Lesky, *Hermes* 87(1959), p. 27 ff.; Hofmann–Vorbichler, *Der Äthiopien-logos bei Herodot*, p. 16 ff.; Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity*, p. 144 ff.).

The combination and interaction of these factors would provide the perfect matrix for the development of H.'s Sabakos-legend. It should, however, be remembered that a diametrically opposed tradition on the Ethiopian Dyn. did exist (Manetho, *FgrH* 609, F.2, 3a–b, p. 48 ff.). This probably originated in Sais and depicts Shabaka, most implausibly, as burning to death his captured opponent Bocchoris.

καὶ οὕτω ... ἐγένοντο: n. II, 138, 2. This is not simply an aetiological legend but has its deepest roots in the Eg. concept of kingship according to which the Pharaoh can be depicted, amongst other things, as a digger of the canals and a builder of dykes (see further n. II, 108).

ἡ ἐν Βουβάστι πόλις: n. II, 59, 1.

Βουβάστιος: Eg. *Bstt* (l.c.). Bastet, by H.'s time essentially an aspect of Hathor (n. II, 60), was the main goddess of Bubastis at least as early as the VIth Dyn. (Habachi, *ASAE* Cahier 22(1957), p. 110 ff.).

μέζω μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ... τούτου μᾶλλον: On H.'s aesthetic judgement cf. Introduction, p. 155. Despite its present ruinous state it is clear that the temple was a most elegant and beautiful construction (Wilkinson, *Miscellanea Aegyptiaca*, p. 2 ff.; Naville, *Bubastis*, pp. 10 ff., 46 ff.).

138. πλὴν τῆς ἐσόδου ... οὕτως ἔχει: H.'s classic description is an excellent example of an archaeological *tekmērion* used to substantiate historical tradition (cf. Introduction, p. 164).

πλὴν τῆς ἐσόδου ... δένδρεσι κατάσκιος: Confirmed by observation. The beds of the canals were still visible in the 19th Century (Wilkinson, *Miscellanea Aegyptiaca*, p. 3; Naville, *Bubastis*, p. 3). The distance from the Nile will not have been great, though the exact course of the Pelusiatic Branch cannot be established (cf. n. II, 17). Malus, a participant in the Napoleonic Expedition, mentions the existence of substantial groves of palm trees in the vicinity in his time (*Memoirs relative to Egypt*, p. 245 ff.). Although H. appears unaware of the fact, the canals had a religious

dimension. They formed an *išrw*, a horseshoe-shaped lake which frequently surrounded the temples of goddesses on three sides and on which ritual voyages took place (cf. n. II, 60). The *išrw*, which was regarded as being filled with the waters of Nun, the primeval ocean, instinct with life and creative power, had a clearly defined cultic function. Many goddesses (e.g. Ḥathor, Bastet, Tefnut, Sekhmet) were considered to have a dual nature in which fiery, anarchic and destructive characteristics co-existed with pacific and creative elements. To realize the cosmic order the former must be repressed and the waters of the *išrw* were envisaged as an instrument capable of achieving this end. Not only does the nature of Ḥathor-Bastet, the deity of the temple, fit perfectly into this body of concepts but there is unequivocal linguistic evidence of the importance of the *išrw* in her cult: in the XIIth Dyn. she is called “Mistress of the *išrw*” (Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. X, 2) and Graeco-Roman texts frequently speak of the Bubastite *išrw* (Chassinat, *Edfou*, I, p. 335, 5–6; IV, p. 36, 5–8; V, p. 25, 1–2; Mariette, *Dendara*, I, pl. 66a, 9). See further Yoyotte, *RdE* 14(1962), p. 101 ff.; Sauneron, *BIFAO* 62(1964), p. 50 ff.

δένδρεσι κατάσκιος: One early representation indicates trees in the vicinity of the *išrw* at Karnak (Sauneron, op. cit., p. 51, fig. 1) and the connection is also evident at Edfu (Chassinat, op. cit., IV, p. 36, 3–7).

τὰ δὲ προπύλαια ... ἀξίοισι λόγου: For H.’s interest in *propylaia* cf. n. II, 101, 2. The main entrance lay on the E. side of the temple and was preceded by two statues of the Hyksos Period (Habachi, *ASAE* Cahier 22(1957), p. 55). The gateway has long since been destroyed but H.’s description harmonizes perfectly with what we would expect. His admiration for the sculptures was doubtless amply justified (cf. n. II, 137, 5). They were probably the work of Ramesses II and/or Osorkon I (cf. Naville, op. cit., p. 3).

ἐὼν δ’ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλιν ... ἔσοπτόν ἐστι: The remains of the temple are situated in the middle of a large rectangular depression 900–1000 ft. (c. 274.3–304.8 m.) in length. The sides of this depression consist of “lofty mounds, which are nothing but layers of decayed brick-houses which were always rebuilt on the same spot so that after centuries the ground was considerably raised. It is clear that from them one must have looked down on the stone buildings which had remained at the same level” (Naville, op. cit., p. 3; cf. Wilkinson, op. cit., p. 3; Clarke–Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, p. 205 ff.; Habachi, op. cit., p. 3 ff.). Observations and diagnosis are, therefore impeccable.

περιθέει ... τύποισι: The temple was probably surrounded by an enclosure-wall of black basalt of which traces were detected by Naville near the W. end of the temple (op. cit., p. 3).

ἔστι δὲ ἔσωθεν ... περὶ νηὸν μέγαν: The grove's cult-rôle is easily established when we consider Bastet's Hathorian affinities. Since trees provided shade and protection in the heat of the day, they were associated with protective goddesses, particularly the mother-goddesses Hathor and Nut. In this aspect Hathor was closely associated with the sycamore and palm which seem to have been interchangeable for symbolic purposes (Keimer, *ASAE* 29(1929), p. 81 ff.; Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 85). These trees thus came to express the protective presence of the deity in cosmic and mortuary contexts as well as more mundane affairs. Given all this, we must view the presence of a grove, presumably of palms (δενδρέων μεγίστων), in immediate proximity to the temple as an emphatic assertion of the protective life-giving presence of the goddess in the midst of her worshippers.

περὶ νηὸν μέγαν ... τῷγαλμα ἐνι: *Nēos* refers to the main temple-building excavated, though not completely understood, by Naville. It was built of granite and limestone and consisted of an Entrance Hall to the E. c. 80 ft. (c. 24.3 m.) long and 160 ft. (c. 48.6 m.) wide, followed by the Festival Hall, c. 80 ft. (c. 24.3 m.) long and 130 ft. (39.4 m.) wide and the Hypostyle Hall c. 190 ft. (c. 57.8 m.). The latter gave access to the cult-chambers at the rear of the temple where, amongst other things, would be found the *st wrt* "great place" containing the cult-statue (*agalma*) of the goddess (Naville, op. cit., p. 3 ff.; Habachi, op. cit., p. 45 ff.).

εὗρος δὲ καὶ μήκος ... σταδίου ἐστί: It is improbable that the overall length of the *nēos* much exceeded 400 ft. (c. 121.9 m.) and its breadth could hardly have been half that (vide supra). If, however, we understand *hiron* to refer to the enclosure-wall (*haimasiē*) and everything within it, H.'s measurement may well not be far wide of the mark. Wilkinson assessed the area of the enclosure at 600 ft. square (c. 182.8 m. sq.) (op. cit., p. 3). Kitchen opts for a length of c. 750 ft. (c. 228.6 m.) and a breadth of c. 580 ft. (c. 176.7 m.) (*The Third Intermediate Period*, p. 318, fig. 3).

κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἔσοδον ... ὡς τεσσέρων πλέθρων: A processional way like that between the Temple of Amon-rē and the Temple of Mut at Karnak (*PM²* II, plans I & XXIV). Wilkinson saw traces and estimated its length as 2250 ft. (c. 685.8 m.), though he was unable to establish its breadth (l.c.; cf. Naville, op. cit., p. 60). H.'s distance is, therefore, substantially short of the true one.

τῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῆς ὁδοῦ ... πέφυκε: Vide supra, n. II, 138, 1.

φέρει δ' ἐς Ἑρμέω ἱρόν: At the relevant point at the very limit of the mound of Tell Basta Naville found the remains of a small temple of Osorkon I. Sculptures depicted members of the Bubastite Triad (Bastet, Amūn and Ḳor Ḳekenu) but there was no evidence that the temple was

dedicated to Hermes (Eg. Thoth, Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 812). Naville suggested that the attribution might have been based on occurrences of his name and representation on reliefs now lost (op. cit., p. 60; cf., however, Habachi, op. cit., p. 119 ff.) but the owner remains uncertain.

Bibliography: Wilkinson, *Miscellanea Aegyptiaca*; Naville, *Bubastis*; id., *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II*; Sethe, *RE* III, 930 ff.; Baedeker, *Egypt*⁷, p. 171 ff.; Bonnet, *RÄRG* pp. 80 ff., 126; Vandier, *Manuel*, II, p. 602 ff.; Habachi, *ASAE* Cahier 22(1957); *PM* IV, p. 27 ff.; Yoyotte, *RdE* 14(1962), p. 101 ff.; Sauneron, *BIFAO* 62(1964), p. 50 ff.; Habachi, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I, 873 ff.; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, p. 318 ff.

139. ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ... μέσους διαταμεῖν: Cf. II, 141. Dreams which advise or warn are part of the stock-in-trade of folk-lore (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, C168; D1810.8.2, 1812.3.3 ff., 1813.1.1, 1814.2, 1817.2.1, 2161.4.0.1; T165.1 etc.) and figure prominently in Gk. and Eg. sources. The Egs. were convinced of their divine origin (*Merikarē*, P137 ~ Volten, *Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften*, p. 76; *P. Insinger*, 32, 13 ~ Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III, *The Late Period*, p. 211). Not surprisingly, therefore, they frequently feature as a means of communication between the gods and the Pharaoh (e.g. Tuthmose IV, *Urk* IV, 1539 ff. ~ *BAR* II, §815; Merenptah, Kitchen, *RI* IV, p. 5, 28 ff. ~ *BAR* III, §582; cf. D.S., I, 53; Josephus, *Ap* I, 32; Plin., *HN* XXXVI, 64). The thoroughly Egyptianized rulers of the Nubian (Ethiopian) Period subscribed whole-heartedly to these concepts and H.'s indication that dreams could have far-reaching political consequences at that time is strikingly substantiated by the stele of the Nubian king Tanutamūn (664-c. 655) where the latter's invasion of Egypt in 664 is stated to have been prompted by one (*Urk* III, 57 ~ *BAR* IV, §922). In Egypt, as elsewhere, aids to interpretation were frequently employed; handbooks were available (Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 3 Series, I, p. 9 ff.; Volten, *Die demotische Traumdeutung*; Sauneron *et al.*, *Les Songes et leur Interprétation*, p. 19 ff.) and in Gk. times, at least, and probably much earlier, professional interpreters were to be found (Wilcken, *UPZ* I, 48; Sauneron, op. cit., p. 38 ff.). It is typical of the Eg. concept of Pharaoh's omniscience that Sabacos can dispense with such exegesis (cf. Introduction, p. 15).

μέσους διαταμεῖν: This ingredient recalls the case exemplified amongst Hebrews, Hittites, Persians and Macedonians whereby sacrificial victims or executed criminals were cut in half (*Genesis*, 15, 10-17; Gurney, *The Hittites*, p. 151; H., VII, 39; Livy, XL, 6, 1-2; cf. Africa, *JNES* 22(1963), p. 255, n. 15). In all these examples, however, a cathartic *rite de passage* seems to be involved and of this there can be no question here.

ἰδόντα δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ... ποιήσειν ταῦτα: Kirchberg (*Die Funktion der Orakel im Werke Herodots*, p. 47) aptly compares the improving tale of Aristodicus of Cyme and the oracle at Branchidae (I, 158, 9). Sabacos' perspicuity and

pious acquiescence in the divine will square perfectly with the pro-Ethiopian bias of H.'s Eg. sources for this period (Introductory n. II, 137–140). At the same time, the spectacle of the triumphantly successful ruler eschewing *ate*, cleaving to *pronoia* and preserving *sōphrosynē* provides so apt a paradigm of the Gk. *dikaïos* that one must accept the intrusion of Gk. sentiments into this picture (cf. Kirchberg, l.c.; Hofmann–Vorbichler, *Der Äthiopenlogos bei Herodot.*, p. 76 ff.; Introductory n. II, 99–182).

ἀλλὰ γάρ ... ἔτεα πεντήκοντα: On the all-important rôle of oracles in Nubian state-policy see n. II, 29. The content of the response has many parallels in folk-lore where death, downfall and the length of a reign are frequently foretold (Thompson, op. cit., M341.1.2.1, 342.1; Crahay, *La Littérature Oraculaire*, p. 227).

ἔτεα πεντήκοντα: Vide n. II, 137, 2.

ὥς ὣν ὁ χρόνος ... ὁ Σαβακῶς: Cf. II, 152, 1. The end of the Ethiopian Dyn. fell in the reign of Tanutamūn, not that of Shabaka/Sabacos, and was neither as swift nor as patiently borne as H. was led to believe. It resulted from the combined pressure of a series of massive Assyrian raids and the machinations of the founder of the XXVIth (Saïte) Dyn. Psammetichus I. The collapse began in 671 during the reign of Taharqa when the Assyrian emperor Esarhaddon invaded Egypt and established a short-lived suzerainty. Taharqa was able to recover Memphis in 669 only to be confronted in 667–6 with a new Assyrian invasion under Assurbanipal who reasserted Assyrian authority as far as Thebes. In 664 Tanutamūn won back most of the lost ground but was immediately swept south again by the last and most terrible of the three Assyrian invasions which culminated in the sack and mutilation of the ancient capital of Thebes. When the victorious army withdrew, the Ethiopians could only claim the most precarious of footholds in the southern part of the country. The rest of Egypt was occupied by petty dynasts all owing a nominal allegiance to the Assyrians. The *coup-de-grâce* was administered by the most successful and enterprising of these kings, Psammetichus I of Sais, who demolished the last vestiges of Ethiopian authority and re-established native Eg. control of the country in 656 B.C. (Introduction, p. 16 ff.; Zeissl, *Äthiopen und Assyrer*, p. 33 ff.; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, p. 391 ff.).

140. Ὡς δ' ἄρα οἴχεσθαι ... οἴκει: There is more to this than meets the eye. Several strata are detectable:

1. *Folk-lore.* The return of the king is one of the common kingship-motifs and occurs in a variety of forms (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, F451.6.12; J1189.3; R191).
2. *Eg. History.* The withdrawal of the Ethiopians or Cushites and their replacement by a native Eg. ruler are both clear reflections of the

historical events of the period 664–56 (n. II, 139, 3). Amyrtaeus is equally firmly rooted in history (vide infra).

3. *Eg. Myth.* The island/mound surrounded by the waters of the primeval ocean is one of the commonest Eg. symbols for the life-source (n. II, 3; Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, p. 35 ff.). Since Pharaoh was, in some aspects, the demiurge, the island/mound played an important rôle in rituals of kingship: at the Heb-Sed Festival booths in which the rite of the “Appearance of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt” was enacted were placed on a ritual mound (*ḥnt*, v. Bissing–Kees, *Das Re-Heiligtum*, II, pl. XI); in the royal funerary ritual we hear of the placing of a statue of the deceased king on a heap of sand which represented the primeval hill, the principle being that the sand hill would magically recharge the statue, i.e. king, with new life (Rundle Clark, op. cit., p. 40 ff.); in pre-N.K. times the king was buried within such a mound in the form of a pyramid (Introductory n. II, 124–35) and this concept has its parallels in subsequent funerary architecture (n. II, 169, 5). In all cases the fundamental concept is that the dead king emerges from the island/mound into a new life. At this point we already have a suspiciously close parallel with H.’s narrative but confidence is increased when we consider the implication of the *spodos*, “ash”; for a common attribute of the island/mound both in demiurgic and mortuary contexts is that it is the *iw nsrsr*, “the Isle of Flame” (*Wb* II, p. 336, 8–10; Kees, *ZÄS* 78(1943), p. 41 ff.; Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 194). Evidently the convergence between H.’s narrative and this mythical complex is too close to be fortuitous. That is not to say that H.’s priestly informants were any longer aware of all, or any, of these dimensions. Although it is well-nigh certain that the tale of Anysis and his island was originally a myth of the death and resurrection of the king-demiurge, we can be equally confident that the myth had long since faded into a folk-tale capable of doing double duty as entertainment and historical tradition.

᾽Αμυρταίου: The anti-Persian rebel (Introduction, p. 47 ff.).

ἀλλὰ ἔτεα ... ᾽Αμυρταίου: On the chronology vide Introduction, p. 188.

᾽Ελβώ: Cf. Byz., s.v. Site and Eg. name unknown but it is not improbable that the element ᾽Ε- reflects the Eg. *iw*, “island” (*Wb* I, p. 47, 4–11).

141. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον ... Σεθών: H.’s sources were correct in locating the events described in this chapter soon after the reign of Shabaka; for they took place in 701, the first regnal year of his successor Shabataka (702–690) (cf. Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrien*, p. 27; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, p. 154 ff.). There is, however, considerable chronological confusion in that Sennacherib’s assault is claimed to have taken place after the

Ethiopian departure whereas it took place almost half a century before. The causes of this lapse are easily detected:

1. H.'s sources had telescoped all the kings of the XXVth Dyn. into one symbolic figure, Sabacos. The latter's successor must, therefore, become non-Ethiopian.
2. The complex and confusing political fragmentation of the period covered by II, 137–41, provides arduous and often insoluble problems to modern scholarship (cf. Kitchen's excellent study *op. cit.*). Even to the most persistent Eg. priest or scribe the history of the period would have been quite impenetrable (cf. the cursory, schematized and often grossly misleading summary of Manetho, *FgrH* 609, p. 44 ff.).
3. The Egs. would have been anxious to claim the defeat of Sennacherib for a native Pharaoh (cf. Introduction, p. 14 ff.).

τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαιστου: The transmutation of a Nubian king into a priest of Hephæstus, i.e. Ptaḥ (n. II, 2, 5), is easily explained by the XXVth Dyn.'s reputation for piety (Introductory n. II, 137–40) and its particular devotion to the shrine of the Memphite Ptaḥ (e.g. Shabaka, Zeissl, *op. cit.*, p. 81).

τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Σεθῶν: *Sethōs* is probably a corruption of *Sṯ-bṯ-tṯ-kṯ* < *Sebithōs* (deduced from Manetho's *Sebichōs* with retention of the alveolar stop and the omission of the guttural (cf. the omission of the *ch* in H.'s *Psammis* for *Psammētichos*)) < *Sethōs* (medial bilabial stop assimilated as in *Sbk* < *Souchos*: cf. v.l. *Seuēchos* for Manetho's *Sebichōs*). Desperate and unilluminating alternative etymologies are *Seti* (Hall, *CAH* III, p. 279), *Setem* (Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 43(1906), p. 91 ff.; cf. Griffith, *Stories of the High-Priests*, p. 7 ff.) and Manetho's XXIIIrd Dyn. *Zēt* (*FgrH* 609, p. 46, F. 2; cf. Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, p. 46).

τὸν ἐν ἀλογίῃσι ἔχειν ... δωδέκα ἀρούρας: On the *Machimoi* see Introduction, p. 16 ff. and nn. II, 164–68. The history of relations between the warrior class and the kings of the XXVIth Dyn. provides an obvious parallel to the circumstances of the Sethos-romance and may be their origin. It is, however, perfectly possible, though corroboration is lacking, that it reflects an undue reliance placed by the Nubians on their own troops at the expense of the Egs. (Griffith, *op. cit.*, p. 10).

τοῖσι ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων ... ἀρούρας: Vide n. II, 168.

μετὰ δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ... Ἀσσυρίων: On the news of the death of Sargon II (722–05) the Mediterranean provinces of the Assyrian Empire, chiefly Sidon, Ascalon, Ekron and Judah, broke into revolt. This uprising was supported by Shabataka in pursuance of the ancient Pharaonic policy of ensuring that Syria-Palestine should never be held by a major Asiatic power. When, therefore, Sennacherib marched on Phoenicia, Philistia and Judah in

701, Shabataka sent a force northwards under his younger brother Taharqa. This was defeated at Eltekeh and Sennacherib then sent an army-commander with substantial forces to negotiate the surrender of Jerusalem while he laid siege to Lachish. Having taken this city, he turned his attention northwards to Libnah (the Sennacherib prism, Pritchard (Ed.), *ANET*³ p. 287 ff. ~ Heidel, *Sumer* 9(1953), p. 177 ff.; *Isaiah*, 36–7; *II Kings*, 18–9; *II Chron* 32; Josephus, *AJ* X, 1; Smith, *CAH* III, p. 70 ff.; Hall, *ib.*, p. 277 ff.; Cook, *ib.*, p. 390; Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrien*, p. 23 ff.; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 154 ff., 383 ff.). It is at this juncture that the events described below must be located.

Σαναχάριβον: Ass. *Sin-ahhê-eriba*, “the God Sin has increased the (number of) Brothers” (Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, p. 288); Heb. **סַנְחֶרִיב** *Sān-hērîbh*. H.’s version is, therefore, very accurate. Sennacherib is the only Assyrian king known to H. (Prašek, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Alterthums*, II, p. 14).

βασιλέα Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων: Cf. n. II, 30, 2. From at least the time of Tiglath-pileser III (745–27) contingents were drawn from all parts of the Assyrian Empire and it is known that Arabian camel-drivers were employed (Roux, *op. cit.*, p. 279).

πρὸς τῷγαλμα: i.e. the cult statue in the holy-of-holies (n. II, 4, 2).

ὄλοφυρόμενον ... τὸν Ἀραβίων στρατόν: On dream-oracles and related phenomena vide n. II, 139. Griffith (op. cit., p. 11) points to the following close parallel in the second story of the Setem-priest Khaemwese:

He (sc. Horus-son-of-Paneshe) went to the temple of Khmun, [made his] offerings and his libations before Thoth, the eight-times great, the Lord of Khmun, the great god. He made a prayer before him saying: “Turn your face to me, my lord Thoth. Let not the Nubians take the shame of Egypt to the land of Nubia. ... Let me know how to save Pharaoh [from the sorceries of the] Nubians.” Horus-son-of-Paneshe lay down in the temple. That night he dreamed a dream in which the mysterious form of the great god Thoth spoke to him, saying: [Advice then given]

(trans. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III, *The Late Period*, p. 146).

The practice of incubation is exemplified in Egypt as early as the N.K. but most of the data derive from Demotic or Gk. sources (Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 837). H.’s 5th Century evidence provides a welcome supplement to this scrappy material.

τούτοις δὲ μιν πείσυνον: For the moral see n. ad fin.

καπήλους ... ἀνθρώπους: i.e. the humbler elements of Eg. society. *Kapēloi*, “inland-traders” (n. II, 35, 2), figure in II, 164, 1, amongst the seven classes

of Eg. society. The other two groups are not mentioned there but H.'s comments in II, 167, prove that their status was not high. Their rôle in the defeat of Sennacherib looks like an example of "the triumph of the weak" motif which constitutes an important category of the "reversal of fortunes" corpus of folk-motifs (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, L300 ff.).

ἐνθαῦτα ... πεσεῖν: Cf. *Isaiah*, 37; *II Kings*, 19; *II Chron* 32; Josephus, *AJ* X, 1, 3–5; Berossus, *FgrH* 680, F. 7(a). The course of events and the nature of the disaster are problematic:

1. *Course of Events.* The data are as follows:

- (a) The Sennacherib-prism (vide supra) speaks of no Assyrian disaster at this or any other point of the campaign. It does describe the siege of Jerusalem and the ravaging and dismemberment of the Kingdom of Judah but there is no mention of taking the city, though the text does enumerate the tribute paid over to the Assyrians in the course of the siege (cf. *II Kings*, 18, 15). No reference is made to any operations on the Eg. frontier nor to Egs. at all after Taharqa's defeat at Eltekeh (vide supra).
- (b) There is clear evidence of a serious rebellion in S. Babylonia just after the Assyrian campaign in Judah (Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria & Babylonia*, II, §242).
- (c) *Isaiah* (36 ff.) and the writer(s) of *II Kings* (18 ff.; cf. *II Chron* 32, 9) state that, after the capture of Lachish (vide supra), Sennacherib retained the two-fold division of his forces, maintaining one army at Jerusalem and leading the other to Libnah. During these operations an Eg. force is stated to have marched N. under Taharqa but there is no indication that it ever engaged Assyrian forces (*II Kings*, 19, 9). In their account of the subsequent Assyrian disaster they speak of the Angel of the Lord smiting the force besieging Jerusalem and Sennacherib's immediate return to Assyria (*Isaiah*, 37, 8; *II Kings*, 19, 8; cf. *II Chron* 32, distorted).
- (d) Josephus/Berosus tells a rather different tale. They agree that Sennacherib's force was split in two and that one corps was left to besiege Jerusalem but claim that Sennacherib marched south with the other corps to Pelusium, laid it unsuccessfully under siege and then withdrew in the face of growing pressure exerted by Eg. forces under Taharqa. When Sennacherib rejoined the corps at Jerusalem he found it decimated by pestilence and retreated to Assyria.
- (e) H. describes the Assyrian disaster as taking place at Pelusium and as being an exclusively Eg. triumph.

The Sennacherib-prism, as far as it goes, is essentially in accord with the Bible. Its deficiencies are those of omission and arise from the propagandist tendencies characteristic of Assyrian royal records which are concerned, at all costs, to provide a panorama of the unalloyed triumph of the king in his

rôle as the servant of Asshur (Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, p. XXI). Failures are not the stuff of such documents!

The Hebrew texts speak of a disaster which decimated the Assyrian force operating against Jerusalem and which must have had a serious effect on Assyrian morale as well as encouraging the opposition. This situation would be enough to bring about withdrawal but may have been aggravated by disquieting news of incipient rebellion in Babylonia (Zeissl, *op. cit.*, p. 25 ff.). Eg. action may also have contributed; for it is clear that Taharqa was on the move in the S. at precisely this time. Admittedly, the texts give no indication that this had any effect on the Assyrian decision to break off the campaign but the propagandist bias of the Biblical narrative, i.e. the determination to interpret Hebrew historical experience as a dialogue between Yahweh and his people, would be more than sufficient to suppress any human agency at this point.

H., drawing upon Eg. sources, paints a very different picture. For him the triumph is exclusively Eg. and unfolded at Pelusium. Again political propaganda is in evidence in that the defeat of Assyria is ascribed to Pharaoh acting in accordance with the will of the gods. In such a view of history allies have no place (cf. Introduction, p. 14 ff.). H.'s mention of Pelusium has no counterpart in earlier texts and is at variance with the Hebrew narrative which nowhere speaks of Assyrian activity so far south (Smith, *CAH* III, p. 70 ff.). Probably H. and/or his source/s (influenced by the events of 525?) simply *assumed* that the confrontation between the Assyrians and Egs., the only two combatants of whom they know, took place at the gateway to the E. frontier (Zeissl, *op. cit.*, p. 25). Indeed H.'s comment *ταύτη γάρ εἰσι αἱ ἐσβολαί* may even reflect such a process of inference. This brings us to Berossus/Josephus. Here it is impossible to escape the overwhelming impression that we are confronted with a skilful attempt to reconcile the Biblical and Classical narratives. If this is correct, their narrative has no independent authority.

We conclude that the account in Berossus/Josephus of Sennacherib's penetration to the Eg. frontier should be treated with extreme scepticism but that, if we allow for obvious propagandist omissions and distortions, a coherent and convincing picture can be extracted from Assyrian and Hebrew sources. This may be summarized as follows. After Eltekeh Assyrian forces were divided into two corps, one to besiege Jerusalem, the other to attack Lachish under Sennacherib himself. On taking Lachish Sennacherib's corps moved on Libnah. Meanwhile Taharqa had recovered from his defeat at Eltekeh and had begun to move N. again. At this point the corps at Jerusalem was decimated by an "act of God". In the face of this catastrophe and possibly encouraged by Eg. moves, as well as disquieting news from Babylonia, Sennacherib broke off the campaign.

2. *Nature of the Disaster.* The detail given in the Biblical narratives can only refer to a sickness of some kind and, though they are probably doing no more than unravelling the implications of the Biblical narrative,

Berosus/Josephus explicitly describe the events as such. It may be relevant that one Biblical account describes the Jews as tampering with the water-supplies (*II Chron* 32, 3–4). H.'s account agrees in insisting on divine intervention but takes a much more fanciful turn (*vide infra*). On the whole some such disease as typhoid or cholera would be the most probable explanation.

νυκτὸς μῦς ἀρουραίους ... μῦν: Comment on this passage has tended to be confused and confusing. The following points need consideration:

1. The conviction that the Pharaoh received divine assistance in maintaining the cosmic order in all its aspects is an integral part of the Eg. concept of the state (Introduction, p. 96).
2. The assistance given by the mice is cast in a markedly unmythological form.
3. H.'s Eg. sources either did not know or ignored the fact that Sennacherib's army had been ravaged by disease. Otherwise, given Sethos' Memphite origin, they would surely have symbolised it as an attack by the Memphite Ptaḥ's consort Sekhmet, a goddess particularly associated with pestilence (Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 643 ff.). It cannot be countered that the mice could have symbolised the disease sent by the goddess (cf. Morenz, *Festschrift Bernhard Schweitzer*, p. 93 ff.; Africa, *JNES* 22(1963), p. 257); for there is no evidence that the Egs. associated these animals with disease.
4. There was a statue in the temple of the Memphite Ptaḥ alleged to portray Sethos carrying a mouse (*vide infra*).
5. Ḥorus of Letopolis, a god associated with Memphis (Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 43(1906), p. 91 ff.; *id.*, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit*, p. 26 ff.), had as his sacred animal the shrew-mouse/ichneumon, the animal expressing the rôle of Ḥorus as conqueror of the forces of chaos. Therefore a triumph of that Ḥorus could be described as a triumph of the shrew-mouse/ichneumon (cf. n. II, 67, 1).
6. There is a parallel Ancient Gk. tale in which mice eat an army's sword belts (Aly, *Volksmärchen*, p. 69).
7. The mouse figures prominently in folk-lore and it is quite clear that Eg. folk-lore tradition was no exception (Aly, *op. cit.*, p. 69 ff.; Dawson, *Folk-lore* 36(1925), p. 227 ff.; Thompson, *Motif-Index*, Index, p. 525 ff.; Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Tiergeschichte und Fabel*).

Evidently, we need look no further than the Eg. conceptual world to explain the god's intervention (1). The notion that it took an unusual form in Sethos' case might be a reminiscence of the campaign of 701 but it could just as well be based entirely on *Monument-novelle* woven around a statue dedicated by Shabataka to Ḥorus of Letopolis in the Temple of Ptaḥ at Memphis (Spiegelberg, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit*, p. 26 ff.; Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 749). This could have formed part of a group of dedications made to Ḥorus as a thank-offering for the Assyrian discomfiture and, therefore, would

provide a potential link between the shrew-mouse, Shabataka and Sennacherib's defeat (4, 5). The final step would then be for the shrew-mouse attribute to be developed into the tale told in H. by drawing upon the copious folk-lore of murine activities (2, 3, 6, 7). However, whether this step was taken by Gk., Eg. or Semite it is impossible to establish—and will doubtless remain so!

καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ... μῦν: Statues of kings and gods carrying a sacred animal are exemplified (Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 43(1906), p. 91 ff.; Vandier, *Manuel*, III, pl. CXXXII, 2; CLV, 4; CLVI, 1 & 3; CLXIV, 6; CLXIX).

λέγων διὰ γραμμάτων ... ἔστω: The format of this "text" is entirely Gk. No Eg. statue-inscription would address the beholder in such terms (Griffith, op. cit., p. 12). However, the emphasis on integration with, and acquiescence in, the divine will is as much a key precept of Eg. morality (n. II, 80) as it is of the Archaic Gk. ethic which permeates H.'s thinking on man's relationship to the divine (Introductory n. II, 99–182). Thus, although the formulation of the moral may be Gk., it is perfectly feasible that the moral itself formed an integral part of the tale as told by the Eg. source.

Bibliography: (Sethos) Prásek, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Alterthums*, II, p. 11 ff.; Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, pp. 5 ff., 58 ff.; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 43(1906), p. 92 ff.; Hopfner, *Tierkult*, p. 34 ff.; Aly, *Volksmärchen*, p. 69 ff.; Smith, *CAH* III, p. 70 ff.; Hall, ib., p. 277 ff.; Cook, ib., p. 390; Spiegelberg, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit*, p. 26 ff.; Pieper, *RE* SB V, 967 ff.; Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrien*, p. 23 ff.; Morenz, *Festschrift Bernhard Schweitzer*, p. 93 ff.; Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 748 ff.; Africa, *JNES* 22(1963), p. 257; Daniëls, *Religieu-Historische Studie over Herodotus*, pp. 51, 88; Klees, *Die Eigenart des griechischen Glaubens an Orakel und Seher*, p. 61; Nilsson, *GgrR* I, p. 535, n. 1; Frisch, *Die Träume bei Herodot.*, p. 39 ff.; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 154 ff., 383 ff.; Na'aman, *BASOR* 214(1974), p. 25 ff.; Spalinger, *CdE* 53(1978), p. 22 ff.; Na'man, *VT* 29(1979), p. 61 ff.

142–6. Chronological excursus. At the conclusion of his account of what he believed to be pure Eg. tradition on Pharaonic history from Menes to Sethos H. points out that it gives a recorded human history of no less than 11,340 years. The striking contrast with Gk. tradition is forcefully pointed up by the Hec. episode of II, 143, and the contradiction between Gk. and Eg. divine chronology revealed in II, 144–6. The discussion is not well integrated into the narrative (To what does the *ταῦτα* of 147, 1, refer?) and it may well have been interpolated at a later stage in composition (Powell, *CQ* 29(1935), p. 78 ff.).

142. 'Ες μὲν τοσόνδε τοῦ λόγου ... ἔλεγον: One of H.'s periodic statements on sources. Henceforth he will supplement his Eg. material with information obtained from foreigners, pre-eminently Gks. (cf. II, 147, 1 and, in general, Introduction, p. 89 ff.).

ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως ... γενομένους: Cf. II, 143. The 341 generations are in complete agreement with the preceding historical narrative, though the number of kings is actually 342 since Anysis and Sabacos were contemporaries (Introduction, p. 186 ff.). Legrand's suggestion (*REA* 38(1936), p. 439) that the figure is derived from the number of statues is, therefore, unnecessary.

καίτοι τριηκόσiai μὲν ἀνδρῶν γενεαὶ ... χίλια ἔτεια: These chronological gyrations are probably Herodotean (Introduction, p. 176 ff.; cf. Lang, *Hesperia* 26(1957), p. 271 ff.; Miller, *Klio* 46(1965), p. 109 ff.).

οὕτως ... θεὸν ἀνθρωποειδέα οὐδένα γενέσθαι: This is, in a nutshell, the thesis of the excursus and reflects a dominant concern of H. and his contemporaries, i.e. the problem of reconciling the chronology of Gk. myth and tradition with the temporal perspective opened up by Eg. historical tradition (Introduction, pp. 146 ff.; 175 ff.; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 182 ff.). It has excited some comment that the priests purveying this tradition ignore the belief that Pharaoh was a god (e.g. Pauli, *Cl. Weekly* 27(1933-4), p. 208) but it should be remembered that the Egs. recognized a clear difference between the gods of the pantheon and Pharaoh who was strictly the *incarnation* of Ḳorus but not, in the fullest sense, Ḳorus himself (Sourdille, *La Durée*, p. 203; Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 857). The distinction finds clear expression in the fact that Pharaoh rarely, if ever, received a cult on the same terms as such deities as Rē, Amūn and Thoth (Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 386).

ἐν τοίνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ... δις καταδύναι: Cf. Mela, I, 9, 8; Solin., 32. The idea of the interruption of the course of the heavenly bodies is common in ancient legend (cf. the conflict of Atreus and Thyestes, Pl., *Pol* 268 ff.; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Platon*², I, p. 574 ff.; Heidel, *Hecataeus*, p. 88; the conflict of Ḳorus and Seth, Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstele*, p. 64, 203 ff.) and in folk-lore (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, D2146.1.1; M312.8). At first sight, such traditions seem to be entirely at variance, for they were all *ad hoc* phenomena, often elicited by magical means, whereas the inferential *τοίνυν* proves that H. has in mind events which are supposed to have a chronological significance, i.e. he is speaking of cosmic cycles of long duration comparable to the Platonic Great Year (for which see Pl., *Tim* 39 d ff.). Since the idea of such cycles was established in Gk. thought by H.'s time (Anaximand., *KR* p. 121; Heracl., *DK* 22, A13; Pythagoreans, Simplicius, *Phys* 732, 26 ff. (Diels); Empedocles, *KR* p. 326 ff. for whom a *four-fold* series was important; Meton, *DK* 41, 9; Oenopides, *ib.*, l.c.), it is not improbable that H. would attempt to control the Gk. concept by Eg. information covering almost eleven and a half millennia of recorded history. However, the only cosmic or astronomical cycle which the Egs. seem to have recognized was the Sothic Cycle (n. II, 4, 1) and, since that was only c.

1460 years long, it is much too short, even when multiplied by four, to fit the time span which H. has in mind (against Blochet, *Le Muséon* 50(1937), p. 123 ff., whose ingenious attempt to circumvent this objection will convince few). The only way out of the dilemma is to assume that H. enquired about cosmic cycles, presumably mentioning a series of four as in Empedocles' doctrine, the Egs. completely misinterpreted the question and replied in terms of four mythological astronomical events like those mentioned above: "During the time you mention, Herodotus, we know of four instances where the sun's course has been interrupted". H. could then easily have been left with the quite erroneous impression that his priestly informants had conceded that, since Menes' time, there had been four cosmic cycles in precisely the sense that contemporary Gks. might have used the term. The suspicion that this was indeed the genesis of H.'s comments is supported by the concluding section of the chapter where Eg. civilization is described as having pursued an uninterrupted course throughout the period in question, i.e. the phenomenon described by the Egs. involved reversal of the course of *heavenly* bodies but nothing else. This idea is completely at variance with the Gk. notion that a cosmic cycle ended with complete destruction, but would be entirely compatible with the idea of temporary interruptions of the astronomical order like that described in the Metternich Stele. It should be noted that H.'s insistence on the difference between Gk. views on the cosmic cycle and those which he believes were held by Egs. fits admirably the polemic tone of his chronological excursus.

Bibliography: Letronne, *Oeuvres Choiesies*, I, p. 144 ff.; Heidel, *Hecataeus*, p. 85 ff.

143. Πρότερον δὲ Ἑκαταίῳ ... καλὸς καὶ γαθός: *Tekmērion* 1.

Πρότερον δὲ Ἑκαταίῳ τῷ λογοποιῷ ... ἐμεινυτόν: On H.'s attitude and relationship to Hec. vide Introduction, p. 127 ff.

ἀναδήσαντι ... ἐς ἑκκαίδεκατον θεόν: At three generations to a century this point in time falls neatly into the time-range of the Ionian Migration for which the Parian Marble gives 1086/5 or 1076/5 (Jacoby, *Das Marmor Parium*, p. 151 ff. ~ *FgrH* 239, F. 27) and Eusebius 1045/4 (Helm, *Chronik des Hieronymus*, 69b)—a good example of the principle that where the genealogy cuts out a god or hero cuts in.

οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Διὸς: The priests of Amon-rē at Karnak.

ἐσαγαγόντες ... αὐτούς: This passage has rightly excited considerable misgivings (e.g. Sourdille, *La Durée*, p. 199; Powell, *CQ* 29(1935), p. 78; Legrand, *REA* 38(1936), p. 439 ff.; de Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.* N.S. 15(1937), p. 177 ff.; Kaiser, *ZÄS* 94(1967), p. 102 ff.). It is a most remarkable coincidence that the total of generations derived from oral and written sources (cf.

Introduction, p. 185 ff.) should fit that of the statues and we may well ask whether the narrative does not contain considerable, if unconscious, confusion. Conceivably the course of events went something like this: when Hec. made his ill-advised statement, the priest took him into the Hypostyle Hall and showed him several hundred statues allegedly of High Priests as proof of his error without, however, putting any *exact* figure to the group. Hec. then recounted his adventure in precisely those terms. Decades later H. arrived, armed with Hec.'s account and his own figure of 341 generations for the period between Menes and Sethos and expecting to find 341 statues plus c. 6 to cover the period which had elapsed since Sethos. He presented the figure to the priests and the latter, under persistent badgering and faced with the prospect of being forced to count the statues one by one, may have been perfectly willing to accept it. Subsequently, perhaps over a period of several years, H. subconsciously grafted elements of his own experience onto his conception of what had happened to Hec. so that his concept of the latter's discomfiture came to embody two strata: what Hec. had written in the *Genealogies* and contamination from H.'s experience with the priests at Thebes. Such distortion would have been aggravated if Hec.'s experience had become well known in educated circles and corrupted by assumption, deductions and slips of memory and if, when H. wrote Book II, he worked from the current view of what Hec. had said rather than the original text. We should, consequently, be confronted not with a dialogue between Hec.'s experience and that of H. but between H.'s experience and an inaccurate reminiscence of Hec.'s adventure. If such were indeed the background to II, 143, 2 ff., the only generation-total derived from Eg. sources would be the 341 obtained in H.'s historical enquiries, the 345 attributed to Hec. being H.'s deduction (vide infra). We might also assume that the word ἐξηρίθμεον and cognates which are applied both to H.'s and Hec.'s experiences derived entirely from H.'s confrontation with the priests.

ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἔσω ἐὼν μέγα: Almost certainly the Great Hypostyle Hall, one of the most spectacular buildings anywhere in Egypt (against Sourdille, op. cit., p. 196). It measured 170 ft. (c. 51.7 m.) E.-W. by 338 ft. (c. 102.9 m.) N.-S. and its roof was supported by 134 columns, those of the nave being almost 80 ft. (c. 24.3 m.) high and over 30 ft. (c. 9.1 m.) in circumference (Baedeker, *Egypt*⁷, p. 268 ff.).

ἐξηρίθμεον ... ὅσους περ εἶπον: 341 according to II, 142, 1, a figure corresponding to the number of kings from Menes to Sethos. However, II, 143, 4, gives the number of statues/generations as 345. The contradiction is easily explained as carelessness of expression. H. *means*: "My figure of 341 generations for the period Menes to Sethos was confirmed by the priests when I went to Thebes and also by Hec.'s experience (which H. probably misrecorded, vide supra). Hec. found 345 statues and, if one subtracts 4 statues for the period that had elapsed between Sethos and his visit, we arrive at 341".

κολοσσοὺς ξυλίνους ... ἀπάσας αὐτάς: Large numbers of statues of various materials would have been found in most, if not all, Eg. temples since individuals could be granted the right of placing one, or more, in the temple as part of their mortuary provision. The statue was thought to partake of the offerings made to the deity and the deceased owner would, therefore, not want for provision in the After-life (cf. Sethe, *Lesestücke*, p. 94, *d~BAR* I, p. 261; de Buck, *Reading Book*, p. 73~Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, Gr. 24, p. 54 ff.). Inevitably Karnak had a large number and many examples have been found, the most spectacular group being the Legrain-cache (Legrain, *CGC. Statues et Statuettes de Rois et de Particuliers*, I-III). Many were statues of priests, including High Priests (op. cit., III, p. 1 ff.) and many bore inscriptions giving genealogical information (Legrain, *RT* 27(1905), p. 61 ff.). Wooden examples came to light (e.g. id., *CGC.* op. cit., I, p. 55, 42095) but the majority were of stone. It is not at all improbable that this cache includes some of the very statues seen by Hec. and H. (cf. Sourdille, op. cit., p. 196).

παῖδα πατρός ... διὰ πασέων: The hereditary principle was firmly established in the priesthood only at a relatively late period (n. II, 37, 5). However, despite lacunae in our evidence, it is clear that father-son succession operated only intermittently in the case of the High Priests of Amon-rē at Karnak. It was standard, though not invariable, during the XXIst Dyn. but in the early XXIInd Dyn. it was abandoned to return only for a short while with Harsiese A (c. 874-60). After the death of his son, however, the next attested example occurs in the early Saite Period when Haremakheth (c. 704-660) was succeeded by his son Harkhebi (660-44). Curiously enough the office was then held by two *women*, Ἀnhknesneferibrē and Nitocris, daughter of Pharaoh Amasis II (Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 197 ff., 365, 480). It is possible to find rather more cases where both father and son held the office but with an interval of one or more tenants between them (e.g. Nimlot C was the father of Takelot F but their tenure is separated by an Osorkon and Harsiese, Kitchen, op. cit., p. 196). Evidently Hec. and H. were grossly misled by their sources, though inscriptions on *some* of the statues may well have provided one or two examples of the relationship described. It should also be noted that there could not possibly have been anything like 345 statues of *different* High Priests. In the 400 years between Nitocris and the beginning of the XXIst Dyn. Kitchen gives c. 22 only (op. cit., p. 480). At that rate the first of H.'s 345 would have been active in the 7th Millennium B.C.! If his informants were not downright rogues, they must have assumed from one or two statues of High Priests that the entire group belonged to the same category with a blissful disregard for the chronological consequences. Lamentably, however, there is no doubt that Eg. sources, under the influence of acute *amour-propre*, would have been quite capable of delibe-

rate genealogical chicanery (cf. the fictions in the well-known inscription of Khnumibrē, Posener, *La Première Domination Perse en Egypte*, p. 98 ff.).

πίρωμις: Eg. *p*; *rm̄*; Copt. **ΠΙΡΩΜΕ**, “the man”. The translation *καλὸς κάγαθός* given later is based on the use of *rm̄*, “man”, in the sense of “a man of importance” (*Wb* II, p. 422, 10). Pace Helck (*Saeculum* 15(1964), p. 103 ff.), the use of *rm̄* to refer to Egs. as against foreigners (see n. II, 158, 5) has no relevance here since the point of comparison is between one kind of Eg. and another, not between Eg. and non-Eg.

144-6. The contradiction between the Eg. and Gk. chronology of the origins of Dionysus. The sequence of argument, which is not always clear, runs as follows:

144. Eg. tradition on the dynasties of the gods which preceded human kings and included Dionysus/Osiris. This leads to a discussion of the entirely contradictory Gk. tradition on the birth of Dionysus.
145. There are two traditions on the origin of the group of gods Herakles, Dionysus and Pan: the Gk. tradition that they are very recent; the Eg. tradition that they are very old.
146. It is the reader's choice which he accepts but H. believes that the Egs. are correct. For him these three gods are recent imports into Greece and this is reflected in the character of the traditions about them.

144. τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ... αἰεὶ ἓνα τὸν κρατέοντα εἶναι: Vide Introduction, p. 185 ff. Eg. tradition recognized a number of dynasties before Min/Menes:

1. The Dynasty of the Gods (Gardiner, *Royal Canon of Turin*, pl. I, col. 1, 14 ff.; Manetho, *FgrH* 609, p. 11 ff.).
2. The Dynasty of Demigods (*hēmitheoi*) (Manetho, op. cit., p. 13).
3. The Dynasty of the Dead (*nekyes*) (op. cit., p. 13).

2 and 3 both figure in the Turin Canon under the expression *ἡw Šmsw Hr* or simply *Šmsw Hr* (Gardiner, op. cit., pl. I, col. 11, 2, 8-9). Since to an Eg. these two groups would have been at the most deified men, H.'s statement τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρχοντας is a perfect reflection of native attitudes. Of the *theoi* in 1 we have several lists:

<i>Turin Canon</i> (l.c.)	<i>Herodotus</i> (l.c.)	<i>Manetho</i> (l.c.)	<i>Diodorus</i> (I, 13)	
Missing	Pan	Hephaestus	Helios or Hephaestus	
Geb	Herakles	Sun	Kronos + Rhea	
Osiris	Dionysus	Kronos	Osiris + Zeus + Hera	
			Isis	Osiris, Isis
Seth	Typhon	Osiris		Typhon,
Horus	Horus	Typhon		Apollo,

Thoth
Maꜣat
Horus

Horus

Aphrodite

The divergences are not surprising. They simply reflect the variant traditions current in different religious centres. More detailed information is not available in Eg. sources but references to the period are not infrequent. We often hear of the *rk ntrw*, “time of the gods”, or *rk x*, “the time of (the god) x” (*Wb* II, p. 457, 9–12). Some documents refer to the gods as kings in that they give them royal protocols (e.g. de Buck, *Reading Book*, p. 125; Gardiner, *LES* p. 56, 14, 7 ff.; Stadelmann, *CdE* 40(1965), p. 50, 1.7) and use them for year-dating in the same way as human kings (e.g. Seth in the Stele of Year 400—Stadelmann, l.c.; Rēꜥ-Ḥarakhte in the cult legend of Edfu, Fairman, *JEA* 21(1935), p. 28). We even find an example of the latter in Tac. (*Hist* V, 2). Strangely, the possibilities for mythological elaboration do not appear to have been exploited until the L.P. (e.g. Roeder, *Rel. Urk.*, p. 153). Further Kees in Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 228 ff.; Otto in Derchain (Ed.), *Religions en Egypte Hellénistique et Romaine*, p. 93 ff.

ὑστατον δὲ αὐτῆς ... Ἕλληνες ὀνομάζουσι: However much the theologians might manipulate the list elsewhere, they could not alter the cardinal fact that Horus was the last of the Divine Kings. This was the basis of the whole theory of Eg. Kingship. The King ruled as the incarnation of Horus on earth (Introduction, p. 96).

τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἕλληνες ὀνομάζουσι: For the mythological basis of this identification vide nn. II, 155–6; Kolta, *Die Gleichsetzung*, p. 31 ff.; Michaëlidis, *BIFAO* 66(1968), p. 65.

Τυφῶνα: Cf. II, 156, 4–5. In Gk. mythology Typhon is essentially an embodiment of the forces of Chaos which were believed to threaten the ordered universe. This finds expression in his form, which is monstrous in size and composition, and in his relation to Zeus, the cosmicizing agent who strove with him in mortal combat until his defeat and subjugation (Hes., *Th* 819 ff.; Pi., *P* I, 15 ff.; Hyginus, *Fabula*, 152; Apollod., I, 6, 3; Nonnus, I, 481 ff.). In terms of cosmic myth this situation mirrors the conflict of Horus and Seth and was doubtless the main reason for identifying Seth with Typhon. However, other factors must also be borne in mind: both had chthonic aspects; both could be winged and had connections with the serpent, storms and war; and Seth had a name *tbh* (*Wb* V, p. 262) which probably had a similar sound to “Typhon” (see further Kolta, op. cit., p. 161 ff.). The identification of Seth and Typhon is presumably the explanation for the prominence of Egypt in the myth of Typhon (Hes., *Th* 829 ff.; Pi., l.c.; H., III, 5; Apollod., I, 39 ff.; Ov., *Met* V, 322 ff.). On the details of Seth’s struggle with Horus see Gwyn Griffiths, *Conflict*.

Ὅσιρις δέ ... γλώσσαν: Cf. II, 42, 4; nn. II, 47, 2; 48, 2-3; Kolta, *op. cit.*, p. 58 ff.

145. Ἐν Ἑλλησι μὲν ... Πάν: Note that H. treats these gods as a monolithic group of three. This is essential to the entire argument of II, 145-6 which is based on the principle that what holds true for one must hold true of all (n. II, 146).

Πάν μὲν ἀρχαιότατος ... θεῶν: The Eg. Pan was Mendes. Strictly he was not a member of the Ogdoad but his affinities with it were very close (n. II, 46).

Ἡρακλῆς: The Eg. Herakles was Shu who was one of the members of the Heliopolitan Ennead concealed beneath H.'s "twelve gods" (n. II, 43, 1).

Διόνυσος δὲ τῶν τρίτων ... ἐγένοντο: The Eg. Dionysus was Osiris (n. II, 144, 2). *Οἱ τρίτοι* presumably refers to one of the two lesser Enneads of Heliopolis but our knowledge of their composition is so slight (cf. Bonnet, *RARG* p. 523 ff.) that it is impossible to determine Osiris' position in or relationship to either.

Ἡρακλεῖ ... δεδήλωταί μοι πρόσθε: II, 43, 4.

καὶ ταῦτα ... τὰ ἔτεα: Note H.'s insistence on the unimpeachability of his sources before he provides the spectacularly contradictory Gk. material.

Διονύσω ... ἐς ἐμέ: If *ἐξακόσια* is deleted, as it clearly must be (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Hermes* 40(1905), p. 142; Meyer, *Forschungen*, I, p. 159), we arrive at a date for Dionysus, son of Semele, in the later 15th Century B.C. (Introduction, p. 179).

Ἡρακλεῖ ... εἰνακόσια: i.e. Herakles, son of Alcmene, dates c. 1350 B.C. (Introduction, p. 179 ff.). On his genealogy vide n. II, 43, 2.

Πανὶ δὲ τῷ Πηνελόπης: So also Apollod. (*Epit* VII, 38), Cic. (*ND* III, 56) and Serv. (*in Verg.*, *G* I, 16) but there was no unanimity on the point (cf. Hom., *hPan* 27 ff.; Pi., *F*.90 (Bowra); Schol. *ad Theoc.*, I, 3-4c ff.). Pan's Arcadian origins suggest that H.'s genealogy is the older; for both Hermes and Penelope were Arcadian deities (cf. Wernicke in Roscher, *ML* II, 1379 ff.; Brommer, *RE* SB VIII, 949 ff.; Wüst, *op. cit.*, XIX, 460 ff.).

ἐλάσσω ἔτεά ... ἐς ἐμέ: i.e. c. 1250 B.C. This passage is of great value in establishing H.'s date for the Trojan War (c. 1330-1250 B.C., Introduction, p. 178).

146. τούτων ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ... μᾶλλον: Syntax and sense have caused difficulty. *Τούτων ἀμφοτέρων* must be a partitive genitive dependent on the clause *τοῖσί τις πείσεται λεγόμενοι μᾶλλον* and refers to the two views of the dating of Herakles, Dionysus and Pan given in II, 145 (with Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, II, p. 224; How-Wells, *Commentary*, I, p. 239; Waddell, *Herodotus Book II*, *ad loc.* and against Stein, *Herodotus*, I, *ad loc.*; Godley, *Herodotus*, I, p. 453). Translate: "Of these two opinions anyone is at liberty to adopt the alternative which he finds the more credible".

ἐμοὶ δ' ὧν ... ἀποδέδεκται: Cf. nn. II, 43–9. In these chapters it is clearly stated that there are two Herakles—Herakles the god and Herakles the hero—and we are left with the strong impression that Dionysus and Pan are parallel cases.

εἰ μὲν γὰρ φανεροί ... τὴν γένεσιν: The carelessness of expression and the inadequate integration of this entire passage with what precedes generate a strong conviction that it is a hastily added afterthought (cf. Legrand, *Hérodote*, II, p. 169; Powell, *CQ* 29(1935), p. 78 ff.). The argument is correspondingly difficult to unravel. There are three linguistic problems:

1. *καὶ οὗτοι*. Does this phrase denote all three of the ancient gods listed in the first half of II, 145, or does it simply refer to Dionysus and Pan as Stein (n. *ad loc.*) and Waddell (n. *ad loc.*) believed?
2. *κατὰ περ ... ὁ ἐκ Πηνελόπης γενόμενος*: Some scholars have postulated a break in sense before *καὶ δὴ καὶ* and insisted that H. is claiming at this point that there is a difference between Herakles, son of Amphitryon, and the other two (e.g. Stein, *Herodotus*, I, p. 170; Waddell, *Herodotus II*, p. 242; Godley, *Herodotus*, I, p. 453). Is this valid?
3. *καὶ τούτους ἄλλους*. Grammatically this phrase could apply to all the individuals mentioned immediately before or simply to Dionysus, son of Semele, and Pan, son of Penelope. Which is correct?

The solution to all these difficulties is provided by the sentence *ἐμοὶ δ' ὧν ... ἀποδέδεκται*. Here H. indicates that he is concerned to defend the position defined earlier in Book II on the relationship between the two groups of mythological beings discussed in II, 145, viz. that Herakles, Dionysus and Pan are Eg. gods who have been imported into Greece and that the dates for their births current in Greece (II, 145, 4) are simply a reflection of the dates at which they were introduced there (cf. n. II, 50, 1). Once this context is grasped our linguistic difficulties are easily resolved: *καὶ οὗτοι* clearly refers to the ancient gods discussed in II, 145, 1–3, and means "these too", i.e. like the other gods of Gk. origin (n. II, 50, 1); the *κατὰ περ* clause refers to the trio of Gk. divine beings opposed to these gods in II, 145, and should be treated as an inseparable group in II, 146, as in the immediately preceding chapter—the *κατὰ περ* clause ends at *Πηνελόπης γενόμενος* and no earlier; *καὶ τούτους ἄλλους*, "these others also", will then only yield a satisfactory sense if it is interpreted to mean "Dionysus, son of Semele, and Pan, son of

Penelope <like Herakles, son of Amphitryon, in II, 43>”. With these points established the interpretation of our passage becomes straightforward: The position adumbrated in ἐμοὶ δ’ ὧν ἀποδέδεκται could only be invalidated if it could be shown that there were three ancient deities of Gk. origin called Herakles, Dionysus and Pan whose names had been taken over by Herakles, son of Amphitryon, Dionysus, son of Semele, and Pan, son of Penelope. Our passage is designed to demonstrate that such a Gk. origin is impossible. H. argues that, if these three gods had become manifest and grown old in Greece, all three would have had a mythology where their birth and early life were firmly located in Greece itself. The gods Dionysus and Pan did not. Therefore, they could not be of Gk. origin and, since, for H., what held true for them must hold true for the god Herakles (n. II, 145, 1), the whole trio must have derived from a non-Gk. source (cf. Kenrick, *The Egypt of Herodotus*, p. 187 ff., for an identical interpretation).

ἐφη ἄν τις ... τῶν προγεγονότων θεῶν: We have post-Herodotean evidence of a doctrine of the dual nature of Pan at least. Eustathius speaks of two Pans, one from Egypt, the other the son of Penelope (*ad Od* II, 84). According to others, one Pan was the son of Zeus, the other the son of Cronus (A., F.35 (Nauck²); Schol. ad E., *Rh* 36). These data, together with H.’s comments in II, 43–9 (*vide supra*), justify the suspicion that H. is tilting at a current doctrine of the duality of Pan and Dionysus.

νῦν δὲ Διόνυσόν ... Ζεὺς: Cf. E., *Ba* 1 ff., 242 ff., 286 ff.; Apollod., IV, 2 ff.

ἐς Νύσαν ... ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ: Cf. III, 97, 2. It was at Nysa that Dionysus was raised and where he planted the first vine. St. Byz. (s.v. *Nῦσαι*) knew cities of that name on Helicon and in Thrace, Caria, Arabia, Egypt, Naxos, India, the Caucasus, Libya and Euboea. Herrmann’s attempt (*RE* XVII, 1654 ff.) to locate the “original” Nysa in Libya (Igharghar or Segia el Hamra) assumes that the Gks. had accurate knowledge of the origins of viticulture—an improbable hypothesis.

καὶ Πανός γε ... γενόμενος: The cult of Pan certainly generated little mythical or legendary material. The reason was probably that, even after his dissemination from Arcadia c. 490, he remained a primitive semi-theriomorphic fertility deity and, as such, was a most unlikely candidate for Gk. myth-making.

147–182. The history of the XXVIth (Saite) Dyn. down to the latter part of the reign of Amasis, i.e. the period 664–c.529 B.C. It is the most important of all extant sources and has exercised an immense influence on all subsequent accounts, ancient and modern. The basic format follows that of the preceding section, i.e. kings are arranged in chronological order and the traditions of interest attaching to each are recounted. Reign-lengths are,

however, much more accurately stated (Introduction, p. 189 ff.) and the narrative of events has a much firmer purchase on historical reality, improvements which doubtless result from the availability of Gk. sources (cf. n. II, 154, 4) and the relatively recent date of the period in question. As throughout the *Histories*, H. frequently punctuates his narrative with excursuses (II, 148, 149–150, 155–6, 164–8, 169, 4–5; 170–1).

Despite the increased accuracy of H.'s historical account of this period, its reliability is impaired by several factors:

1. The sources were pre-eminently oral in character, though autopsy also made a contribution (Introduction, p. 114 ff.; nn. II, 148–150, 158), and oral tradition is subject to a wide range of influences on its genesis and evolution which severely compromise its efficiency as a vehicle for transmitting historical information (Introduction, p. 100; Introductory n. II, 99–182). This situation has several consequences:
 - I. H.'s record is compounded of many different elements in which historical reminiscence is intermingled in various degrees with folklore (nn. II, 147, 160, 162, 172–3), propaganda (nn. II, 152, 163, 169, probably 172–3, 174), ethical preoccupations (vide infra) and narrative embellishment designed to promote the tradition's impact on the audience (n. II, 147).
 - II. Since oral tradition is rarely, if ever, concerned with niceties of dating, the chronology of events *within* a reign is sometimes confused (nn. II, 152, 1; 161) and usually ignored altogether.
2. The oral authorities were pre-eminently Gk. (Introduction, l.c.). The resulting account is, therefore, in the main, an amalgam of Gk. tradition on Gk. experience of Saite history and Gk. versions of oriental tradition. Consequently, it is Gk. interests and attitudes which normally determined what material percolated through to H. and, since H. was himself a Gk., it is Gk. interests and attitudes which determined his choice of material and its treatment, irrespective of the immediate source. This pervasive Graeco-centric standpoint, which is often underestimated and sometimes ignored by modern scholars, manifests itself in several ways:
 - I. Events are not selected for discussion because of H.'s appraisal of their intrinsic importance in the unfolding of Eg. history. In foreign policy he has little or no conception of, or interest in, the strategic context within which actions took place (nn. II, 157, 158–9, 161); he simply chooses material which would be of interest to a Gk. (I, 105; nn. II, 157, 159, 160, 161–9, 178–9, 180–2). The same rule obtains for internal policy, e.g., Saite kings were faced with two major threats to their authority, the priesthood and the *Machimoi* (Introduction, p. 14 ff.), but H. typically ignores the first issue for the simple reason that Gks. did not play a part in dealing with it, whilst the *Machimoi* problem gets full rein, quite clearly because Gk. mercenaries figured prominently in attempts to solve it (nn. II, 30, 154, 161–9).

- II. The Gk. predilection for *thōmata* (Introduction, p. 141 ff.) is one of the major factors in determining the choice of subject-matter (nn. II, 148, 149–50, 153, 155–6, 157, 158, 169, 170, 175–7, 182).
- III. Gk. moral attitudes and conceptions of the nature of human life frequently feature (nn. II, 147, 151–2, 161–2, 164–9, 173–5, 177) and doubtless often led to distortion.
- IV. The Gk. tendency to over-schematization (Introduction, p. 149 ff.) is detectable at several points (nn. II, 148, 178).
- V. Analogies between Gk. and Eg. culture attract considerable attention (nn. II, 164–8, 170–1) and imagined similarities can lead to such curious distortions as the claim that Psammetichus I was interested in solving preoccupations of contemporary Gk. science (nn. II, 2, 28).

It is, therefore, not surprising that, when we are able to control H.'s account closely by Eg. sources, we find that it can be seriously in error, a fact which emerges with startling clarity from the study of his version of the accession of Amasis (n. II, 163, 1). Such cases have serious implications for his reliability as an historical source not only in Book II but throughout the *Histories*; for there is no reason to believe that the material accessible on Gk. or Persian history was fundamentally any different from, or better than, his information on the past of Pharaonic Egypt.

147. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ... ὄψιος: Vide n. II, 142, 1.

147, 2–157. The reign of Psammetichus I (664–10 B.C.). H.'s account includes the rise of Psammetichus to sole power (II, 147, 2–148, 151–2), an excursus on the Eg. Labyrinth (II, 148), a digression on L. Moeris (II, 149–50), a discussion of Psammetichus' building work at Memphis (II, 153), a description of arrangements made for his mercenaries (II, 154), an excursus on the cult of Leto at Buto (II, 155–6) and a reference to the siege of Ashdod (II, 157). Elsewhere in the *Histories* H. mentions Psammetichus' confrontation with the Scythians (I, 105), his interest in scientific problems (II, 2, 28) and a mutiny of the *Machimoi* (II, 30). The information is drawn mainly from Gk. oral tradition with an unquantifiable admixture of non-Gk. material (Introductory n. II, 147–82), though autopsy was presumably a factor in II, 148–50 and 153. As usual, Gk. attitudes and interests were all-important in determining content. Gk. participation was the major attraction in the history of Psammetichus' rise to power (n. II, 147) as it was in the account of the military arrangements made after his triumph (n. II, 154). Gk. attitudes to life provided an additional reason for concern with this stage of Psammetichus' career inasmuch as its multiple *peripeteiai* provided an object-lesson on a favourite Gk. theme, viz. the mutability of human fortune (n. II, 152). Gk. historical experience would have created a general curiosity in the Gk. world for the sights of Memphis which H. dutifully, if cursorily, satisfied (n. II, 153). Parallels between Eg. and Gk. mythology

could not fail to attract Gk. notice and receive consideration (nn. II, 153, 155–6). The Gk. and Herodotean taste for *thōmata* was also at work in the lengthy excursus on the Labyrinth (n. II, 148), the digression on L. Moeris (n. II, 149–50), the interest in the temples of Memphis (n. II, 153), the substantial excursus on the cults of Buto (n. II, 155–6) and in the discussion of the siege of Ashdod (n. II, 157). Since the Scythian invasion (I, 105) had made a profound impression on the Gk. world, Psammetichus' reaction to it would have had considerable interest for Gk. writers and their audience. The scientific problems with which Psammetichus is alleged to have grappled (II, 2, 28) were major preoccupations of contemporary Gk. science (Lloyd, *JEA* 63(1977), p. 153). Finally, the mutiny of the *Machimoi* (II, 30) would have had serious repercussions on the Eg. military establishment of which Gks. formed a major part and the episode also boasted a further attraction in that the *Machimoi* betook themselves to Ethiopia, a land which exercised a unique fascination for the Gks.

The stratigraphy of H.'s account is as complex as the character of his sources would lead us to expect. A close examination reveals a hard core of sound information on the historical and cultural context of L.P. Egypt (nn. II, 147, 151–7) but this is contaminated and expanded by Eg. propagandist material (II, 152), Gk. habits of thought (nn. II, 151–2) and elements of folk-lore (n. II, 147). Apart from such distortion, we can isolate four major deficiencies: first, H. shows no knowledge of the rôle of the Assyrians in the history of the early Saite Period (n. II, 152, 1). Secondly, there is serious chronological confusion in the account of relations between Psammetichus and his father on the one hand, and the kingdom of Nubia, on the other (l.c.). Thirdly, H. says nothing of the carefully calculated and extremely successful political measures taken by Psammetichus to establish and maintain a unified control over the entire country (Introduction, p. 16, with bibliography). Finally, he says nothing of the strategic context of the Ashdod campaign (n. II, 157). The omissions may be due in part to deficiencies in H.'s sources but it is justifiable to suspect that a factor of at least equal importance was that these activities had considerably less Gk. appeal than those which find a place in his narrative.

Bibliography (general): Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich. I. bis auf Alexander den Grossen*, p. 121 ff.; Hall, *CAH* III, p. 286 ff.; Kees, *NGWG* Phil. Hist. Kl. N.F. 1(1936), p. 95 ff.; Zeissl *Äthiopien und Assyrer*, p. 47 ff. Helck, *RE* XXIII, 1305 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 7 ff.; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 5 ff.; Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, pp. 15 ff., 53 ff., 61 ff., 75 ff., 89 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Egypte*⁴, p. 574 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Orientalia Gandensia* 1(1964), p. 95 ff.; Wessetzky, *ZÄS* 88(1963), p. 69 ff.; Seidl, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit*²; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, pp. 156 ff., 186 ff.; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, p. 378 ff.; Spalinger, *JARCE* 13(1976), p. 133 ff.; id., *Orientalia* 47(1978), p. 12 ff.; id., *JARCE* 15(1978), p. 49 ff.

ἐλευθερωθέντες ... συνέλεγοντο: Cf. D.S., I, 66. The Tale of Psammetichus and the Dodecarchs, continued in II, 148, and 151–2. The fact that H.

concentrates so much attention on these events is a direct reflection of their appeal to Gk. interest (Introductory n. II, 147–82). In the first place, Carian and Ionian mercenaries played a crucial rôle in them; secondly, the multiple *peripeteiai* would have struck a powerful resonance in a Gk. audience in general and H. in particular (n. II, 152). The tale has several ingredients:

1. Eg. history. Despite obvious embellishments the tale is firmly rooted in the context of late XXVth–XXVIth Dyn. history. The temple-synods of II, 147, can also be paralleled.
2. Eg. propaganda. The glaring omission of the Assyrians from the narrative can only be explained as the product of Eg. nationalist propaganda (n. II, 152). It has even been suggested that H.'s entire account of Psammetichus' accession may be ultimately based on a laudatory Eg. narrative of the classic *Königsnovelle* type (Hermann, *Die ägyptische Königsnovelle*, p. 39, n. 64; on the *Königsnovelle* vide n. II, 163).
3. The moral element. The tale teaches the necessity for man to recognize and integrate with the divine will. Although the Dodecarchs strove by the exercise of *dikaïosynē* to prevent the prophesied disaster, their efforts were nullified by a patent *adikon*, i.e. the failure to accept the situation when the oracle had been accidentally fulfilled. The eleven attempted to prevent the dénouement of the divine will and their *tisis* (II, 152, 3) was conquest by Psammetichus and his mercenaries (cf. Kirchberg, *Die Funktion der Orakel im Werke Herodots*, pp. 9, 49). Since this moral is typical of H. and Gk. thought in general (Introductory n. II, 99–182), it might be regarded as evidence of the Gk. origin of the entire *logos* but the fact that it is also identifiable in Eg. contexts (Lloyd, *Historia* 31(1982), p. 42 ff.) destroys the force of that argument. It is perfectly possible that H., or his source, has done no more than recast into Gk. moral terminology an Eg. pseudo-historical tradition expressing ethical concepts with which any Gk. would feel profound sympathy.
4. Folk-elements. The oracle-motif has clear folk parallels (n. II, 147).
5. Gk. contamination. The manner of the mercenaries' arrival in Egypt is strikingly similar to the tale of Odysseus' arrival in Egypt (n. II, 152, 4). The irony of II, 151, 3, is quite un-Eg. and can only reflect Gk. influence. The same holds true of the emphasis on *pronoia* in the same passage.

The evolution of this concoction is easily explained. The starting point was obviously an Eg. account of the rise of Psammetichus which combined historical reminiscence with propagandist and folk-elements. This has then been overlaid with, and modified by, Gk. attitudes and literary influence.

ἐλευθερωθέντες ... βασιλεύσαντα: Vide II, 141.

οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον ... διαιτᾶσθαι: A correct observation. To the Eg. the

state and civilized life were synonymous with the institution of kingship (Introduction, p. 96 ff.). Oligarchy and alternatives were equally repugnant and have left no trace in the record (*pace* Spiegel, *Soziale und weltanschauliche Reformbewegungen im alten Ägypten*; cf. Vandier, *BiOr* 7(1950), p. 100 ff.).

ἑσθήσαντο δωδέκα ... τὰ μάλιστα: It has long been recognized that H.'s twelve kings symbolize the internal political fragmentation of the Ethiopian and Assyrian Periods (cf. Mallet, *Les Premiers Etablissements*, p. 402; Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrien*, p. 50; Crahay, *La Littérature Oraculaire*, p. 277; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 7 ff.; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 185; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 398, 456, 459). In neither period did the central government achieve complete control and very often its authority was purely nominal. The Piankhi (Piye) Stele (*Urk* III, p. 1 ff. ~ Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III, *The Late Period*, p. 68 ff.; Grimal, *La Stèle Triomphale de Pi(ankh)y*) paints a picture of extreme fragmentation in the late 8th Century and, with the assistance of the fragmentary Eg. record, allows us to identify no fewer than two Pharaohs in the Delta and two in Middle and Upper Egypt as well as many more autonomous princes. This situation lasted into the late Ethiopian Period when Assyrian records (Pritchard (Ed.), *ANET*³ p. 294b) and Eg. sources present us in L.E. with the spectacle of a kingdom based on Sais and ruled by the family from which Psammetichus I sprang, a kingdom at Tanis ruled by the descendants of the XXIIInd Dyn., four great chiefdoms and sundry lesser princedoms. At the same time, in U.E. we find powerful rulers in such cities as Herakleopolis, Abydos and Hermopolis, and the towering figure of Montuemhēt at Thebes. As hinted by H., the relations between these centres of authority were often far from good and could lead to open conflict (Leclant, *Montouemhat*, p. 193 ff.; Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*; in general Kitchen, op. cit., pp. 366 ff., 395 ff.; de Meulenaere, *CdE* 53(1978), p. 229 ff.; Leahy, *GM* 35(1979), p. 31 ff.). Why H.'s kings should be twelve in number is debatable but it is possible that the figure derives from that of the courts in the Labyrinth which they were alleged to have constructed (Griffiths, *Cat. Dem. Pap. Ryl.*, III, p. 71; Hall, *CAH* III, p. 291).

ἐπιγαμίας ποιησάμενοι: Possibly guesswork but the exploitation of marriage alliances as a political strategy was an Eg. practice of long-standing (e.g. the machinations of the nomarchs of the Oryx Nome (16th of U.E.) in the XIIth Dyn. (de Buck, *Reading Book*, p. 67 ff. ~ *BAR* I, p. 282 ff.)) and possible examples in the "Dodecarch" Period are not lacking (Kitchen, op. cit., pp. 235 ff., 402 ff.).

ἐκέχρηστό σφι ... Αἰγύπτου: Cf. II, 151. Prophecies or omens concerned

with accession to power or greatness are common-place in folk-lore and frequent in H. (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, V, M310; Introductory n. II, 99-182). As in the present case, they often form part of the prophecy-fulfilled motif, i.e. a prophecy is delivered and an unsuccessful attempt is made to forestall it (cf. the myth of Oedipus and the legends surrounding the birth of Cypselus, H., V, 92). This situation, as well as information from Eg. and Assyrian sources (II, 151-2), suggests that the Dodecarch-prophecy belongs to the realm of folk-lore. There is no reason to doubt its ultimate Eg. origin, particularly since Eg. oracles are known to have concerned themselves with appointments of many kinds including the kingship (n. II, 83; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 25 ff.). Certainly such a response does not fit Eg. oracular practice which would normally have provided simply a "Yea" or "Nay" answer to a specific request (II, 83) but, since these standard responses could easily and naturally be elaborated by Eg. or Gk. sources to yield *chrēstēria* of the kind under discussion (cf. Klees, *Die Eigenart des griechischen Glaubens an Orakel und Seher*, p. 59), we cannot regard this discrepancy as proof of the non-Eg. origin of the prophecy.

ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου: Highly significant (n. II, 151).

ἐς γὰρ δὴ τὰ πάντα ἱρὰ συνελέγοντο: This element in the story may have been suggested by priestly synods. Admittedly, our first clear evidence of this institution dates only from the Ptol. Period (Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, II, Index s.v. Synoden) but there is no reason why it should not be older. Indeed, festivals of the *panēgyris*-type must surely have encouraged the practice much earlier (cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 603 ff.).

148. καὶ δὴ σφι μνημόσυνα ... πεποιήται: An excursus on the Eg. Labyrinth at Hawara. It forms an integral part of the Psammetichus *logos* since the building was alleged, albeit wrongly, to be a common memorial of the Dodecarchs. The inordinate length of this excursus arises entirely from H.'s taste for *thōmata* (Introduction, p. 141 ff.; Introductory n. II, 147-82).

καὶ δὴ σφι μνημόσυνα ... κοινῇ: σφι = the Dodecarchs. We are told below (148, 5) that the Labyrinth served as their burial place as well as that of the sacred crocodiles. In fact, it was built centuries earlier by Amenemhēt III of the XIIth Dyn., in part as a mortuary installation for his pyramid, which lay immediately to the N., and in part to serve the cult of various gods, probably those of the Fayyûm area, whose worship was carried on in association with that of the dead king (Lloyd, *JEA* 56(1970), p. 91 ff.; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 186; cf., however, Arnold, *MDAI(K)* 35(1979), p. 1 ff.).

λαβύρινθον: Probably "House of the Double Ax" from *labrys* (Lydian),

“ax” (Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, II, p. 67). Originally denoting the Cretan Labyrinth associated with Minos and the Minotaur, the term was later applied to any maze-like structure (e.g. Plin., *HN* XXXVI, 84–93; Str., VIII, 6, 2 (C369)) and was used of Amenemhêt’s construction simply because of its bewildering complexity. The many ingenious attempts to find an Eg. etymology are superfluous (Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 92 ff.).

ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος ... κείμενον: For the Lake of Moeris vide n. II, 4, 3. Crocodilonpolis = later *Arsinoitōn polis*/*Arsinoe* (Eg. *Šdyt*; mod. Medinet el-Fayyūm) where the crocodile god Sobk was held in high honour (Gauthier, *DG* V, p. 150; *PM* IV, p. 98 ff.; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 116* ff.; Bonnet, *RARG* p. 394 ff.; Montet, *DG* II, p. 215 ff.). The site of the Labyrinth was identified by Lepsius and excavated by Petrie immediately to the S. of the Pyramid of Amenemhêt III at Hawara (Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, p. 4 ff.; *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazguneh*, p. 28 ff.).

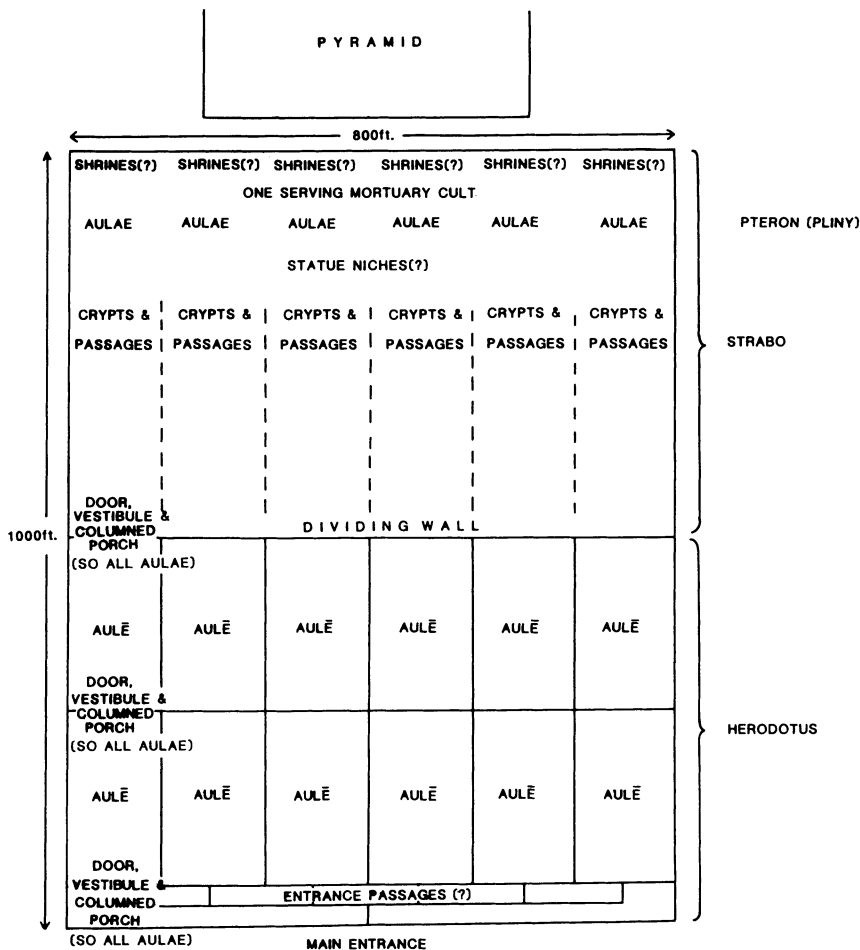
τὸν ἐγὼ ἤδη εἶδον ... ὑπερβάλλει: These lines reveal several aspects of H.’s attitude to Egypt—indeed of his mind in general:

1. He is very careful to indicate his sources, a precaution particularly necessary here in view of the sweeping nature of his claims. Autopsy is emphatically stated to be the basis of his account (Introduction, p. 85).
2. The Labyrinth is clearly a *thōma* because of its size and receives such attention mainly for that reason (Introduction, p. 141).
3. H.’s admiration for the Egs. leads him to disparage Gk. achievements (Introduction, p. 154 ff.).

ὁ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ... νηός: The famous Croesus or Archaic Temple of Artemis at Ephesus was vast by Gk. standards. It measured over 180 × 360 ft. (c. 54.8 m. × 109.6 m.) along the upper step and was supported by a veritable forest of huge columns of solid marble (Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*², p. 90 ff.). The Labyrinth was apparently thrice the length and five times the width of this temple.

ὁ ἐν Σάμῳ: The equally famous shrine of the Samian Hera, begun apparently by Polycrates, measured approximately 179 × 366 ft. (c. 54.5 m. × 111.4 m.) along the stylobate and, like that of Ephesus, was profusely equipped with columns (Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 95 ff.). This building and that at Ephesus, the largest temples in the Hellenic world, could both have been fitted into the Labyrinth and still have left plenty of room for other Gk. temples!

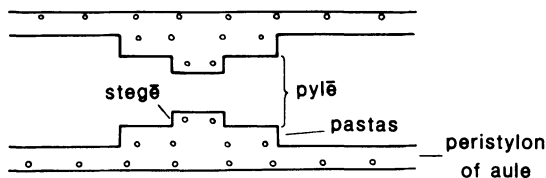
τοῦ γὰρ δωδεκά ... τὰ μάλιστα: For reconstructing the Labyrinth we have, in addition to H., accounts by D.S. (I, 61; 66, 3–6), Str. (XVII, 1, 37(C811); 1, 42(C813)), Plin. (*HN* XXXVI, 13(19)) and Mela (I, 9, 56),



THE LABYRINTH, Sketch Plan

FIG. I

Petrie's excavation reports (op. cit.) and our knowledge of Eg. architectural practice. This evidence suggests that it was an oblong building, largely of limestone (cf. *λίθου λευκοῦ* infra), 1000 ft. long × 800 ft. wide (c. 304.5 m. × 243.6 m.) (vide fig. I). It was divided across the middle from W. to E. by a cross wall, to the S. of which lay the *aulai* of H. These were twelve in number, peristyle (*αὐλὴ δὲ ἐκάστη περίστυλος*), partly roofed (*katastegoi*, see Lloyd, op. cit., p. 82) and arranged in two parallel rows of six courts each. They communicated with one another through doors preceded by vestibules (*stegai*) and columned porches (*pastades*) thus:



This S. section was the only part which H. saw and it had apparently been destroyed when Str. got there. The latter's description seems to refer to the area N. of the dividing wall which, from S. to N., contained first *kryptai*, tortuous passages and statue niches for the mortuary cult and then a row of courts (*aulai*) running from one side of the building to the other. Beyond them, against or near the back wall just S. of the pyramid itself, there was almost certainly a row of shrines of which that in the centre will have been devoted to the cult of the dead king, the others to those of the Fayyûm gods who, in all probability, were honoured in the Labyrinth conjointly with the builder (Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 81 ff.; cf., however, Arnold, *op. cit.*).

οἰκήματα δ' ἔνεστι διπλά ... τῶν ἱρῶν κροκοδείλων: Reservations are amply justified on the claim that the two series were exact counterparts (Introduction, p. 152). Subterranean chambers seem to have been a feature of temples of the crocodile god Sobk, the major deity of the Fayyûm area (Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 7 ff.), and there is no reason to doubt that some vaults were built beneath the Labyrinth whose connections with the cult of Sobk are beyond dispute (Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 90 ff.). It is perfectly possible that some of these structures were employed in the L.P. for the burial of local kinglets and the interment of the sacred crocodiles (*id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 94).

τῆς δὲ γωνίης τελευτῶντος ... τεσσαρακοντόργυιος: The pyramid of Amenemhêt, now no more than a mound of mud-brick, does not lie at the corner of the Labyrinth but was symmetrically disposed about the line of its axis. H.'s error will be due to a perfectly natural, and common, slip of the memory (*vide* Introduction, p. 119 ff.). When complete, the pyramid measured c. 350 ft. (c. 106.6 m.) square and attained a height of c. 190 ft. (c. 57.9 m.) (Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, p. 13). Whether H.'s 40 *orguai* (c. 240 ft. = c. 73 m.) refers to height or length of side we cannot say.

ὁδὸς δ' ἐς αὐτὴν ὑπὸ γῆν πεποιήται: Presumably the passage leading from the S. face of the pyramid by a distinctly circuitous route to the burial chamber in its centre (*PM* l.c.; Edwards, *Pyramids of Egypt*, p. 232 ff.).

Bibliography: Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Text, II, p. 10 ff.; Letronne, *Oeuvres Choiesies*, I, p. 294 ff.; Pleyte, *Over Drie Handschriften*, p. 29 ff.; Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, p. 4 ff.; Wiedemann, *Kommentar*, p. 524 ff.; Myers, *LAAA* 3(1910), p. 134 ff.; Petrie, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazguneh*, p. 28 ff.; *PM* IV, p. 100 ff.; Kees, *RE* XII, 323 ff.; de Meulenaere,

Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie, p. 10 ff.; Montet, *DG* II, p. 210 ff.; Edwards, *Pyramid of Egypt*, p. 230 ff.; Michałowski, *JEA* 54(1968), p. 219 ff.; Lloyd, *ib.* 56(1970), p. 81 ff.; Fôti, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 2(1976), p. 169 ff.; Kákosy, *ib.*, p. 180 ff.; Armayor, *The Classical Bulletin* 54(1977–8), p. 68 ff.; Arnold, *MDAI(K)* 35(1979), p. 1 ff.

149–150. An unashamed digression on L. Moeris. It has found its way into the narrative for no better reasons than the lake's proximity to the Labyrinth and its value as a *thōma*.

149. τοῦ δὲ λαβυρίνθου ... θῶμα ἔτι μέζον: Vide Introduction, p. 141 ff. H.'s enthusiasm is understandable; for, if the lake *had* been excavated, it would have been necessary to move no less than 50,000 million cub. m. of spoil (Brown, *The Fayum and Lake Moeris*, p. 26).

ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη: Cf. D.S., I, 51–2; Str., XVII, 1, 4(C789), 35(C809), 37(C810 ff.); Plin., *HN* V, 50; Mela, I, 9, 5. This lake was the much more extensive predecessor of the modern Birket Karûn in the Fayyûm (n. II, 4, 3).

Μοίριος: i.e. Amenemhêt III of the XIIth Dyn. (n. II, 13). The historicity and nature of Moeris' association with the Fayyûm in general and its lake in particular are difficult questions. The evidence amounts to the following:

1. Classical sources speak of engineering triumphs of Moeris/Amenemhêt III in the Fayyûm and post-Herodotean authors give as the motives flood-control and the need for a reservoir (D.S. and Str.; cf. Tac., *Ann* II, 61).
2. There is no explicit Eg. evidence, either literary or archaeological, of XIIth Dyn. engineering works connected with L. Moeris. The Edwabank to the W. of Medinet el-Fayyûm (ancient Crocodilopolis), *pace* Hayes (*CAH* I³, 2, p. 511) *et al.*, is not XIIth Dyn. handiwork but a natural beach-deposit belonging to the same series as the Gisir el-Hadid to the W. of the Birket Karûn (Thompson–Gardner, *The Desert Fayum*, p. 17; Little, *BIE* 18(1936), pp. 210, 217 ff.). Furthermore, and contrary to the widely current assumption, there is no evidence to connect the XIIth Dyn. with the Hawara-barrage, though this is undoubtedly man-made.
3. There are many more XIIth Dyn. monuments in the Fayyûm area than those of O.K. date. In addition, the residence-city and usually the pyramids of the XIIth Dyn. were sited at the entrance to the Fayyûm (*PM* IV, p. 96 ff.; Meyer, *GdA* I, §292 ff.).
4. It has been suggested that the Nile's inundation was unusually low during the First Intermediate Period, but that there were spectacularly high floods between c. 1840–1770, i.e. during the reign of Moeris/Amenemhêt III (Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt*, pp. 36, 52). The evidence is, however, weak and should be treated with caution.

1 indicates the existence of tradition strong enough to survive into Classical times that Amenemhêt III had distinguished himself in hydraulic engineering works in the Fayyûm, and XIIth Dyn. interest in the area is confirmed by the large number of monuments of the period to be found there (3). The motives given in the post-Herodotean Classical sources are almost certainly deduction from the more recent schemes of Ptolemy II but, at any period, such excavation could only serve for flood-control, irrigation or both. If 4 is valid, it would suggest that, in the reign of Amenemhêt III, flood-control measures would have been necessary. For this purpose the Fayyûm lake was ideal. To make it the depository for excess flood water all that was necessary was to provide the easiest possible entry through the Illahun gap by deepening and widening the channel from the Nile and possibly to reinforce these measures by the construction of dykes to ensure that a large quantity of water was diverted into the Fayyûm. It may be that the N. end of the Hawara barrage, the Gisir Gadalla, was just such a dyke (Ball, *Contributions*, p. 212). The influx of such large quantities of water would evidently have provided opportunities for increasing the irrigated area within the Fayyûm and these opportunities may well have been seized but there is no evidence to prove it. Amenemhêt may also have constructed a series of drainage canals to promote the same end but again the evidence is lacking (2).

παρ' ἣν ὁ λαβύρινθος οὗτος οἰκοδόμηται: Vide n. II, 148, 1.

τῆς τὸ περίμετρον ... τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν: i.e. c. 414 miles (c. 666.1 km.) (cf. n. II, 6). D.S. gives the same circumference (I, 51), Plin. 250 Roman miles (l.c.), Mucianus 450 (in Plin., l.c.) (both described as old dimensions) and Mela 20 miles (I, 9, 5). Str. describes the lake as πελαγίαν τῷ μεγέθει but omits dimensions (XVII, 1, 35(C809), cf. 37(C810 ff.)). H. himself enables us to control his own figure; for his description of the water-level at the Biahmu colossi and his claim that an efflux from the lake was possible (vide infra) make it clear that, in his time, for part of the year, at least, the level of L. Moeris must have lain approximately on the 20 m. contour above sea-level. This would give a circumference of c. 270 kms., i.e. c. 168½ miles. Since the range of variation in the lake level caused by the inundation would not have been large (Ball, op. cit., p. 199), we can be certain that the circumference never attained anything like the size given by Herodotus.

κεῖται δὲ μακρὴ ἢ λίμνη ... νότον: The course of the 20 m. contour demonstrates the essential accuracy of this description (vide Ball's map, op. cit., pl. IX).

ἐοῦσα βάθος ... πεντηκοντόργυις: 50 *orguae* would amount to c. 93 m. If the circumference is correctly deduced above, the maximum depth would not have exceeded c. 73 m. (Ball, op. cit., p. 207; id., *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, p. 19 ff.).

ὅτι δὲ χειροποίητός ... αὐτὴ δηλοῖ: Quite false. The Fayyûm, within which L. Moeris lay, is a natural depression gouged out of the desert plateau by wind-erosion in post-Pliocene times. The lake derives entirely from the Nile which broke down the barrier between the Fayyûm and the valley during early Palaeolithic times to fill the depression completely, i.e. to a height of c. 40 m. above sea-level. The lake's level has subsequently oscillated spectacularly, being determined pre-eminently by the quantity of the influx of Nile-water along the Hawara channel but also marginally (at a rate of c. 2 + m. p.a.) by evaporation and percolation. The beach-lines left by these oscillations, as well as settlement-patterns, show that c. 6000 B.C. the level was c. 10 m. above sea-level but had sunk to c. 2 m. below sea-level by c. 4000 B.C. There it remained until c. 2000 B.C. when it reached an average level of c. 15 m. (vide supra and, in general, Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, p. 1 ff.; Brown, op. cit., p. 61 ff.; Thompson-Gardner, op. cit.; Thompson-Gardner-Huzayyin, *BIE* 19(1937), p. 243 ff.; Ball, *Contributions*, p. 178 ff.; Wendorf-Schild, *Prehistory of the Nile Valley*, p. 151 ff.).

ἐν γὰρ μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ ... ἐξαπαλάστου: Cf. D.S., I, 52. H. is referring to the two Biahmu colossi the remnants of which lie c. 5 kms. N. of Crocodilonpolis. These sadly ruined monuments formed part of two installations, 200 ft. (c. 60.9 m.) apart, each surrounded by a limestone wall pierced with red granite gates. Each colossus consisted of a quartzite statue of Amenemhêt III sitting on a throne and facing northwards towards the lake. The statues were c. 40 ft. (c. 12.1 m.) high and stood on pedestals 21 ft. (c. 6.4 m.) high. They survived into the Middle Ages but by the 17th Century one had disappeared and the other was in a bad state. When Pococke visited the site in 1737 only the pedestals were left. It is probable that the ancient road from the lake to Crocodilonpolis ran between the two. Their purpose was probably to guarantee Amenemhêt's perpetual surveillance of the lake which he may well have done much to increase (cf., in general, Simpson, *JEA* 68(1982), p. 266). It should be observed that H.'s dimensions for the pedestals are grossly inflated. Ball explains the error neatly by pointing out that H. thought that the maximum depth of the lake was 300 ft. (c. 91.4 m.) (II, 149, 2). If, therefore, he were told that the pedestal was half-submerged, he would assume that 300 ft. lay below the water-level and 300 ft. above (Ball, *Contributions*, p. 207).

H.'s datum that the waters of L. Moeris rose half-way up the pedestal is invaluable for fixing the lake-level in his time. Since the pedestals are c. 18 m. above sea-level and c. 6.3 m. high, the level for part of the year must have lain approximately on the 20 m. contour (Ball, op. cit., p. 206).

τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ... αὐτῆς: Pace Yoyotte (*BIFAO* 61(1962), p. 92), there is no need to look to a misunderstanding of Eg. mythology to explain these statements. The crucial point to remember is that the Nile and L. Moeris were linked by the Hawara channel which provided *all* the lake's water.

When the inundation created a water-level in the valley higher than that of L. Moeris, water would flow into the lake. This would have taken place from early June to approximately the end of December. When the Nile had fallen sufficiently, and provided the level of the water in the lake and the channel lay at 18+ m. above sea-level, water would flow from the lake into the Nile until hydraulic equilibrium had been achieved, probably about the end of May. In H.'s time, since the level of the lake lay at c. 20 m. for at least part of the year, the efflux could obviously take place (Ball, *Contributions*, p. 203 ff.; id., *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, p. 19 ff.; Butzer, op. cit., p. 37). However, there is evidence that the average level in the M.K. was 15 m. (Butzer, op. cit., p. 36 ff.). If that were indeed the case, only in quite exceptional circumstances would an efflux have been possible. This factor and the height above sea-level of the Biahmu pedestals (c. 18 m., vide supra) prove that an efflux could have formed no part of the plans of Moeris/Amenemhêt III. In this context it should be noted that, when Str. refers to the efflux as though it took place in his time (XVII, 1, 36(C810 ff.)), he is guilty of a gross anachronism since the level of the lake c. 265 B.C. had sunk to 5 m. below sea-level which was far too low for such a phenomenon to be feasible, and it subsequently went much lower (Butzer, op. cit., p. 37; cf. Ball, *Contributions*, p. 210 ff.; id., *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, p. 61).

κατὰ διώρυχα ἐσῆκται: We are clearly expected to regard this channel as an artificial creation like the lake. In fact, H. must be referring to a natural water-course comparable to, if not identical with, the Bahr Yusuf. It is not, however, implausible that a XIIth Dyn. king undertook engineering works on it to improve the flow of water, particularly if flood-control were the major consideration in working in the area (cf. Butzer, op. cit., p. 36 ff.; id., *Die Naturlandschaft*, p. 115).

καὶ ἐπεὶ μὲν ἐκρέη ἔξω ... εἴκοσι μνέας: Cf. n. II, 98, 1 and also III, 91. The productivity of the Fayyûm fisheries is attested in Pharaonic texts (Caminos, *Literary Fragments*, 19–20, pl. 6, ll.11–15; 24–25; *P. Anastasi*, IV, 15, 6–7 ~ Caminos, *LEM* p. 200; *P. Chester-Beatty*, IV, v, 9, 14–15; Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, p. 45) and in Hellenistic sources (Préaux, *L'Economie Royale des Lagides*, p. 202 ff.; Dumont, *CdE* 52(1977), p. 125 ff.). The industry continued to flourish in the Mediaeval Period when the Birket Karûn was known as the “Fishery” or “Fish Lake”, yielding perch, bulti, Nile carp and catfish in abundance (Ball, *Contributions*, p. 224). Despite serious salination problems its importance has remained considerable into modern times (e.g. between 1921 and 1935 an average annual yield of 2037 tons was recorded). On the basis of modern catches Ball considers that those mentioned by H. may well not be wide of the mark (op. cit., pp. 290 ff., 300).

ἐς τὸ βασιλῆιον καταβάλλει: A tax in fish connected with the harīm is mentioned in Pharaonic sources (Gardiner, *JNES* 12(1953), p. 145 ff.; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, p. 263 ff.). The impost described by H. could well have been a continuation of this, all the more readily accepted by the Achaemenid administration since it fitted perfectly into Persian fiscal practice (cf. n. II, 98, 1).

Bibliography: Brown, *The Fayum and Lake Moeris*; Brugsch, *ZÄS* 30(1882), p. 65 ff.; Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*; Meyer, *GdA* I, §292 ff.; Thompson–Gardner, *The Desert Fayum*; Little, *BIE* 18(1936), p. 201 ff.; Thompson–Gardner–Huzayyin, *BIE* 19(1937), p. 243 ff.; Ball, *Contributions*, p. 178 ff.; Kees, *RE* XV, 2498 ff.; Habachi, *ASAE* 40(1940), p. 721 ff.; *PM* IV, p. 96 ff.; Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, pp. 19 ff., 51, 61, 81; Butzer, *Die Naturlandschaft*, p. 114 ff.; Botti, *La Glorificazione di Sobk*; Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 220 ff.; Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 61(1962), p. 79 ff.; Evans, *The Classical World* 56(1963), p. 275 ff.; Crawford, *Kerkeosiris*; Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt*, pp. 16, 36 ff., 41, 47, 51 ff., 92.

150. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι: For *epichōrioi* as sources vide Introduction, p. 115.

ἐς τὴν Σύρτιν ... ὑπὸ γῆν: Cf. II, 100 and 124. This strange notion probably arose from the interaction of two factors:

1. The locals were doubtless aware that the lake lost water through percolation into the surrounding land. (Ball guessed the quantity at c. 16% of that lost by evaporation and suggested that the loss may have been greater in antiquity, *Contributions*, pp. 201, 282 ff.).
2. Canal-digging was a major feature of Eg. economic life.

A similar explanation doubtless applies to the case of the inhabitants of the Nubian settlement of Nazlet Shemt el-Ouah who claimed that the Oasis of Doush received water from the Nile through an underground channel (Maspero, *RT* 38(1917), p. 20).

ἐπεῖτε δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ... ὁ ἐξορυχθεῖς: Note the extreme care with which H. checks his information both by *opsis* and oral enquiry (cf. Introduction, p. 81 ff.).

τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου: The precise point of reference is problematic. The fact that the discussion of a subterranean channel immediately precedes suggests that *orygma* relates to that (so Wheeler, *The Geography of Herodotus*, p. 428; Introduction, p. 165). However, the concluding section of the chapter (τοιούτων ... ὀρυχθῆναι) makes it clear that *orygma* cannot exclusively denote the underground channel. The most satisfactory explanation is to regard it as referring in general to the hollow for the lake, the canal feeding it and the subterranean channel (cf. How–Wells, *Commentary*, I, ad loc.; Waddell, *Herodotus Book II*, p. 245).

ἤδεα γὰρ λόγῳ ... ἐβούλοντο: With superficial variations of detail the elements of this folk-tale have a world-wide currency (nn. II, 121).

ἡδεα γὰρ λόγῳ: On the use of *logoi* as *tekmēria* vide Introduction, p. 165.

ἐν Νίνῳ: *Nineui* in Ptol. (VIII, 21, 3); *Nineuē/Nineui* in the *LXX*; *Anglice* Nineveh/Niniveh. This city was the administrative capital of the Assyrian Empire (Assur being the religious and Nimrud the military centres respectively). Its ruins, formed mainly of the mound of Kuyunjik and Nebbi Yunus, lie immediately N.E. of Mosul on the E. bank of the Tigris. It was destroyed in 612 B.C. by the combined assault of Median and Babylonian armies. In general see Weidner, *RE* XVII, 635 ff.; Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, Index, s.v., and on Gk. accounts of Assyrian see Drews, *Historia* 14(1965), p. 129 ff.; id., *The Greek Accounts of Eastern History*, Index, s.v. Assyria, Assyrians.

Σαρδαναπάλλου: With the possible exception of Hellan. (*FgrH* 4, F.63) H. is the first author to mention Sardanapallus. His identity has been much debated. Two possible prototypes for the name are Ashur-danin-aplu (a rebel son of Shalmaneser III (858–24 B.C.)) and Assurbanipal (668–27 B.C.). However, the Classical tradition, which first appears in its developed form in Ctesias (*FgrH* 688, F.1(23)), cannot relate to any one historical king. It is compounded of two major ingredients:

1. The historical element: Sardanapallus' defence of Nineveh against the Medo-Babylonian assault is a reflex of the siege of 612 and his valour in the operation probably recalls the ferocious martial vigour of the kings of Assyria.
2. The folk-lore element: this is dominant; for the tradition is, to a large extent, a confection of folk-motifs designed to present the king as the embodiment of the wealthy, profligate and effeminate oriental despot, a capacity in which he enjoyed a brilliant career in Classical accounts of Near Eastern history which only Semiramis could rival.

It will be self-evident that these two elements are essentially incompatible and make of Sardanapallus a figure of irreconcilable contradictions. However, that he should figure in H. as the protagonist in a folk-context is entirely of a piece with this tradition.

Bibliography: Weißbach, *RE* IA, 2436 ff.; Röllig, *KP* IV, 1550 ff.; id., *Artemis Lexikon*, 352; Drews, *Historia* 14(1965), p. 129 ff.; id., *The Greek Accounts of Eastern History*, Index, s.v. Sardanapalus.

τοῦ Νίνου: Cf. I, 7. Ninus is the eponym of Ninus/Nineveh and figures in Gk. tradition as the founder of the Assyrian Kingdom and husband of Semiramis. Ctesias disagrees totally with H. on his relationship to Sardanapallus, stating that the latter was the thirtieth king to rule after Ninus (*FgrH* 688, F.1(23)). Ninus eventually became the subject of an elaborate Ninus-Romance (Weidner, *RE* XVII, 634 ff.; Wagner, *ML* III, 369 ff.; Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature*, p. 6 ff.; Perry, *The Ancient Romances*, Index, s.v. Ninus; Drews, *Historia* 14(1965), p. 129

ff.; id., *The Greek Accounts of Eastern History*, Index, s.v. Ninus; Edzard, *KP IV*, 133 ff.; Gärtner, ib., 134).

έόντα μεγάλα χρήματα ... καταγαίοισι: On the wealth of Sardanapallus cf. Ctesias, *FgrH* 688, F.1(27). This feature exemplifies the treasure motif which is common in folk literature (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, p. 810 ff. s.v. Treasure etc.).

ές τόν Τίγρην ... έξεφόρεον: The present bed of the Tigris lies, in parts, over a mile from the W. wall of Nineveh but it should be remembered that, in antiquity, the river flowed further E. It should also be noted that one of its tributaries, the Khusur, flowed straight through the middle of the city from E. to W. (maps will be found in Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*¹¹, facing p. 172; Thompson-Hutchinson, *Archaeologia* 79(1929), pl. LXI). In general vide Weidner, *RE XVII*, 635 ff.

151. Τών δέ δυώδεκα ... χρεωμένων: Vide n. II, 147, 2.

Τών δέ δυώδεκα ... Αιγύπτου: Cf. II, 147, 2-4.

έν τῷ ίρῳ τοῦ 'Ηφαίστου: The key-rôle of the temple of Ptaḥ at Memphis is unlikely to be coincidental; for this city early became part of the kingdom of the Saïtes. Necho I was confirmed as its ruler by the Assyrian emperor Esarhaddon in 671 and was reinstated there by Assurbanipal in 667-6 after losing possession during an abortive Eg. rising against the Assyrians. In all probability he was slain there by Tanutamūn in the following year (Pritchard (Ed.), *ANET*³ p. 294 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 22 ff.; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 10; Yoyotte in Pirot et al., *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Supp. VI, 365; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 145 ff., 172 ff.).

περιελόμενος τήν κυνέην ... έσπενδε: It is conceivable that this tale is an aetiological legend intended to explain Psammetichus' name; for it is possible that it meant, or was at least interpreted to mean, "The man" or "vendor of wine" (Griffith, *Cat. Dem. Pap. Ryl.*, III, pp. 44, n. 5; 201, n. 3). The old suggestion that Psammetichus may have been wearing the *hprš* or blue crown (de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 25) must be abandoned since it is now recognized that the traditional interpretation of this head-dress as a helmet is incorrect (cf. Davies, *JEA* 68(1982), p. 69 ff.). Metal helmets, the *dbn n tp*, are known to have been used in Egypt during the XVIIIth Dyn. (*Wb V*, p. 264, 3) and must have been common after that date but it is possible that Psammetichus and many of his contemporaries used metal helmets of Assyrian provenance or design. On Eg. helmets in general vide Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres*, p. 96 ff.; Krauß, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, II, 1113 ff.

κυνέας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ... ἔχοντες: Presumably a reflection of the uncertainties of the Dodecarch Period (cf. nn. II, 147, 2–4).

Ψαμμήτιχος μὲν ... τῇ ἄλλῃ Αἰγύπτῳ: An example of the prophecy-fulfilled motif (n. II, 147). Note that two recurrent Herodotean features are also present: 1. The Dodecarchs' action in ignoring the oracle exemplifies the perverse blindness to the will of the gods which is frequently associated with, and a cause of, disastrous events in H. (Introductory n. II, 99–182). 2. It is the Dodecarchs' generosity in absolving Psammetichus from the full consequences of his action which enables him to fulfil the oracle and depose them. It, therefore, exemplifies H.'s acute consciousness of the grim ironies of human existence (cf. the tale of Atys and Adrastus, I, 34 ff.).

ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς προνοίας: The concept that criminality is determined by *pronoia* is not explicitly stated in any Eg. document but is an important feature of Gk. legal and ethical thinking. It was fundamental to Athenian homicide law probably from as early as the late 7th Century B.C. (e.g. Stroud, *Dracon's Law on Homicide*, pp. 5, 1.11; 34 ff.; S., *OC* 997; Antiphon, I, 22; Lys., III, 28, 41; Din., I, 6; Arist., *Pol* 1300 b 26; *MM* 1188 b 29–38; *EN* 1111b 18–19; Ps.-Arist., *Ath* 47, 2; 57, 3; Aeschines, III, 212; D., XXIII, 22; cf. Pl., *Lg* IX, 861 B ff.; Arist., *EN* III, i, 1 ff.; D., XVIII, 274–5). Cases of alleged intentional homicide (ἐκ προνοίας; ἐκῶν; ἐκούσιος) were tried before the Areopagus and punishable by death or perpetual exile and confiscation of property. Cases of unintentional homicide, on the other hand, were tried before the Palladium and punished by exile of the guilty party until pardoned by relatives of the deceased (MacDowell, *Athenian Homicide Law*, p. 39 ff.). In other categories of crime Athenian law does not seem to have made this distinction but simply had regard to actions *per se* (Jones, *The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks*, p. 261 ff.; MacDowell, *The Law of Classical Athens*, p. 114 ff.).

It is evident that H., or his source, conceived of the situation created by Psammetichus' error in terms of Gk. law. In itself the act was not an act of homicide but it is treated as such because the successful fulfilment of the oracle presupposed the deposition and death of his eleven colleagues (cf. *mutatis mutandis* Th., III, 40). They chose to react to it and punish it just as an Athenian would in a case of unintentional homicide.

Bibliography: Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, p. 605 ff.; Jones, *The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks*, p. 248 ff.; MacDowell, *Athenian Homicide Law*, pp. 44 ff., 58 ff., 110 ff., 147 ff.; Stroud, *Dracon's Law on Homicide*, p. 34 ff.; MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens*, p. 113 ff.

ἐς δὲ τὰ ἔλαα: The third of the multiple *peripeteiai* in Psammetichus' chequered career which did much to raise it to the level of a *thōma* (Introduction, p. 145). On the marshes as a place of refuge vide n. II, 137, 2.

152. τὸν δὲ Ψαμμήτιχον ... εἰσι: The first two *peripeteiai* (Introduction, p. 145; Introductory n. II, 99–182).

τὸν Αἰθίοπα Σαβακῶν: Shabaka (n. II, 137). H.'s informants were mistaken. The ruler responsible for the death of Necho I was Tanutamūn, the last Nubian king of Egypt (n. II, 139).

ὅς οἱ ... ἀπέκτεινε: On the early career of Necho I and Psammetichus vide n. II, 151. The present passage is the only specific statement in any ancient source on the manner of Necho's death. It probably took place at Memphis in 664 for several reasons:

1. It emerges from the Dream Stele that Tanutamūn defeated the Assyrians and their Eg. supporters at Memphis in that year (cf. *Urk* III, p. 67 ~ *BAR* IV, §928) and established a short-lived hegemony over most of Egypt (n. II, 139).
2. Necho was at that time pro-Assyrian and governor of Memphis (n. II, 151).
3. H. states that Necho was killed by an Ethiopian, i.e. Nubian, king.
4. Psammetichus succeeded his father in 664 (n. II, 151).

τὸν πατέρα Νεκῶν: The relationship is confirmed by Assyrian sources (Rassam Cylinder I, r.52–II, r. 27, Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria & Babylonia*, II, §770–5; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 9; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, p. 393).

τοῦτον φεύγοντα τότε ἐς Συρίην: The only indication in any ancient source of the fate of Psammetichus after Necho's death. His accession in 664 under the aegis of the Assyrians proves that he must have remained loyal to them. It should be noted that Syria was often confused with Assyria in Gk. sources (n. II, 106) and that, in all probability, such a confusion has arisen here (cf. Kitchen, op. cit., p. 393, n. 883).

κατηγάγον ... εἰσι: As vassals of the Nubians and then the Assyrians, the family of Psammetichus had ruled the ancient and important city of Sais (n. II, 28) and much else besides for decades (Manetho, *FgrH* 609, F.2–3c, pp. 48 ff.; Kitchen, op. cit., p. 145 ff.; Spalinger, *Orientalia* 43(1974), p. 295 ff.; id., *JAOS* 94(1974), p. 316 ff.; id., *JARCE* 13(1976), p. 133 ff.). However, it was not the Saïtes but the Assyrians who restored him (n. II, 151). The omission of the latter is exactly paralleled in the Dream Stele of Tanutamūn in which, despite the fact that the Assyrians were the major enemy, they are totally ignored (*Urk* III, 60 ff. ~ *BAR* IV, §921 ff.; Grimal, *Quatre Stèles Napatéennes au Musée du Caire*, p. 5 ff.; two possibly analogous texts from Egypt are discussed by de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 23 ff.). There can be no doubt that this trait has an Eg. origin since it can be exemplified without difficulty in Pharaonic sources (Introduction, p. 14 ff.,

and cf. the very oblique references to Assyrians as “Asiatics” in the *Contest for the Benefice of Amūn* in the Petubastis Cycle, much of which relates to this period: Kitchen, op. cit., p. 459; Spalinger, *JARCE* 13(1976), p. 141).

ἐπιστάμενος ὧν ... τοὺς βασιλέας: The final *peripeteia*. On the historical significance of this narrative vide Introduction, p. 14 ff.

ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν: Cf. II, 83 with n. ad loc. Psammetichus would have had a particular inducement to appeal to this shrine since Buto had long formed part of the principality of Sais (cf. Kitchen, op. cit. maps at pp. 346, 367, 401; Schwartz, *BIFAO* 49(1950), p. 73 ff.; Spalinger, *JARCE* 13(1976), pp. 137, 141). It is even possible that during the Saite Period Buto replaced Thebes as the main oracular shrine consulted by Eg. kings (cf. de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 26).

τίσις: Vide n. II, 147.

χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ ... τοὺς βασιλέας: Cf. D.S., I, 66, 12. H.’s narrative has generally been connected with the Assyrian record of the history of Gyges of Lydia, a correlation which would date the events in question to c. 660 B.C. (Introduction, p. 14 ff.; Gyges was killed c. 657 by the Cimmerians, cf. Spalinger, *JARCE* 13(1976), p. 136). The advent of Carians at least is also mentioned by Polyaeus (*Strat* VII, 3) who makes them responsible for a victory alleged to have been won by Psammetichus over Tanutamūn at Memphis in 664. The structure of this narrative has obvious affinities with that in H. Not only are the Assyrians totally ignored but the Carians are enlisted as the result of an oracular response whose significance was perceived by Pharaoh himself. Admittedly, Polyaeus, unlike H., recognizes the Ethiopian presence while ignoring the Dodecarchs but our suspicion that there is a relationship between the two traditions is heightened when we consider that, in his description of the battle between Psammetichus and the Dodecarchs, D.S., who records essentially the same tradition as H., locates the battle at Momemphis which could easily be an error for Memphis, the very locale mentioned in Polyaeus (so Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I. bis auf Alexander den Grossen*, p. 124). On the whole, therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that Polyaeus is presenting us with a doublet of the Herodotean narrative which chooses to place particular weight on the rôle of the Carians and the Ethiopians (cf. Lloyd, *JEA* 64(1978), p. 108 ff.) and which relates Carian participation, possibly anachronistically, to an earlier stage in Psammetichus’ career than H. and the Assyrian texts.

It has sometimes been suggested that Str.’s account of the foundation of Naucratis (XVII, 1, 18(C801)) provides yet another version of the same event (e.g. Wiedemann, op. cit., p. 123 ff.; Spalinger, *JARCE* 13(1976), p. 137). This passage certainly refers to the Dodecarch Period (664–656 B.C.)

but, in the light of the considerable differences in detail, it seems more probable that Str. is talking about a separate and later event (cf. Introduction, p. 24 ff.).

Κάρας ἄνδρας: The Carian presence in Egypt is well documented. Carian troops involved in the Nubian expedition of Regnal Year 3 of Psammetichus II left graffiti at Abu Simbel (Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 96 ff., no. 31–7) and there is ample epigraphic material from Egypt itself (Masson–Yoyotte, *Objets Pharaoniques à Inscription Carienne*; Masson–Martin–Nicholls, *Carian Inscriptions from North Saqqâra and Buhen*), particularly in the Memphite area, where Carian troops were stationed in force from c. 570 B.C. (n. II, 154, 3). H. also speaks of their abandoned participation in the cult of Osiris at Busiris in his own time (II, 61, 2). In general vide de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 29; Masson, *BSFE* 56(1969), p. 25 ff.; Austin, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc. Supp.* 2(1970), p. 15 ff.; Ray, *JEA* 68(1982), p. 181 ff.

ὀπλισθέντας χαλκῷ: Vide Introduction, p. 16. Bronze armour was certainly no novelty to the Egs. who had been using it since at least the XVIIIth Dyn. but it consisted of nothing more elaborate than metal scales sewn onto a leather base (Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 38; Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altäg. Heeres*, p. 96 ff.; Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom at Thebes*, p. 162 ff.; Snodgrass, *JHS* 84(1964), p. 117). Their initial contacts with Gk. infantry armour of the Archaic Period would undoubtedly have been a startling experience since this armour was of the plate type and almost certainly covered more of the body than its contemporary Eg. counterpart.

ἅμα τοῖσι [μετ' ἑωυτοῦ] βουλομένοισι: At the beginning of his reign Psammetichus exercised direct control over an inherited kingdom covering approximately half the Delta, the centres of his power being Sais, Athribis, and Memphis (Kitchen, op. cit., p. 400). If H.'s statement relates to any specific historical situation, it must refer to Psammetichus' support in this area.

καὶ τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι: It has been claimed that Psammetichus had the assistance of Arabian mercenaries in addition to Carians and Ionians (Sauneron–Yoyotte, *VT* 2(1952), p. 135; de Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 63(1965), p. 29) but, since the evidence amounts simply to a highly suspect reading in the minor manuscript tradition of D.S., I, 66, 12, this notion remains no more than an intriguing possibility.

τοὺς βασιλέας: Pace Spalinger (*JARCE* 13(1976), p. 135) the fact that the Rassam Cylinder associates Gyges' military assistance to Psammetichus with the latter's assertion of independence from Assyria strongly suggests

that these troops were first used against the remnants of Assyrian power in Egypt (Introduction, p. 15 ff.). Either as part of this move or subsequently to it, Psammetichus swiftly acquired control of all the Delta principalities by c. 657. It is likely that force and diplomacy were equally in evidence in this process. Rival powers in Middle Egypt (Herakleopolis) and Upper Egypt (Thebes) were won over by diplomatic means (Introduction, p. 16; Kitchen, *op. cit.*, p. 399 ff.; Spalinger, *JARCE* 13(1976), p. 133 ff.). Subsequently the mercenaries will have been employed in furtherance of Psammetichus' foreign policy (nn. II, 154, 157).

Bibliography (Ethiopians, Assyrians and Sais): Hall, *CAH* III, p. 280 ff.; Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrer*, p. 35 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 15 ff.; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 5 ff.; Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, p. 15 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*⁴, p. 574 ff.; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, p. 391 ff.; Spalinger, *JAOS* 94(1974), p. 316 ff.; id., *Orientalia* 43(1974), p. 295 ff.; id., *JARCE* 13(1976), p. 133 ff.; id., *Orientalia* 47(1978), p. 12 ff.; Lloyd in Trigger *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt: a Social History*, p. 282 ff.

153. κρατήσας δὲ Αἰγύπτου πάσης: This was achieved in 656 (Introduction, p. 16; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, p. 403; Spalinger, *JARCE* 13(1976), p. 139). The following account of building activities at Memphis is H.'s only reference to Psammetichus' religious policy. He shows no knowledge of the measures taken to gain control of Thebes (on which vide Introduction, p. 16; de Meulenaere, *Orientalia Gandensia* 1(1964), p. 95 ff.).

ἐποίησε τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ... τετραμμένα: On the importance of Memphis to the Saites vide n. II, 151 but observe that such activities are a *topos* of H.'s Eg. history (II, 101). There is no archaeological evidence that Psammetichus I was active at this point in the city (cf. *PM*² III, 2, p. 830 ff.; Petrie's localization of the propylaea (*Memphis I*, pl. I) is speculative). However, since our knowledge of the site is highly defective, that proves nothing.

αὐλήν τε τῷ Ἄπι ... πλέην: This act of piety can be confidently related to Psammetichus' political affinities (vide supra). Apis' cult-centre is called the *Apieion* in later Gk. text (*OGI* 90, 33), *ḥwt šḥn nt Ḥp ʿnh*, "the dwelling-house of the living Apis", in Hieroglyphic, and *t st Ḥp*, "the place of Apis", in Demotic. It is discussed by D.S. (I, 84) and Str. (XVII, 1, 31(C807)). The latter states that the court was attached to a stall (*sēkos*) within which the Apis lived, that periodically the Apis was admitted into the court and that the court also contained a stall for the mother of the Apis. Where precisely did this installation lie? The data are:

1. H. locates it in front of, i.e. S. of, the propylaea of Psammetichus I on the S. side of the temple. Since it is probable that the propylaea was set in the S. *temenos* wall, the stall probably stood outside the *temenos* of Ptah/Hephaestus. The line of the Saite and Persian wall/s is not certainly known. The wall on Petrie's plan (*Memphis I*, pl. I) is at least

in part and possibly *in toto* of Roman date. In the one area for which evidence was available the wall did not seem to have been built on an older wall but the data are too localized to justify their application to the entire enclosure wall (Anthes, *Mit Rahineh I*, pp. 8, 31 ff.).

2. The Apis Papyrus, which is concerned with the final stages of the embalming rituals of the sacred animal, seems to connect the stall of the Apis with these rituals (Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 56(1920), p. 1 ff.).
3. An installation for the embalmment of the Apis has been identified within the S.W. angle of the Roman *temenos* wall. The N. section of this structure is certainly Saite, bearing the cartouches of Necho II and Amasis (Amir, *JEA* 34(1948), p. 51 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 45; Dimick in Anthes, op. cit., p. 75 ff.).

These data do not permit a positive conclusion. If the Saite and Persian wall/s ran along the line of their Roman counterpart, as is *a priori* likely, then the stall and H.'s court will have stood in the general vicinity of the colossus of Ramesses II and will have been separated from the embalming-house by the *temenos* wall. The embalming ritual will then have involved transporting the animal into the *temenos* for evisceration and related activities and it will then have been returned to the stall for the rituals mentioned in the Apis Papyrus. If, on the other hand, the Saite wall ran further N., the court and stall could still have been outside it but they would then, in all probability, have stood immediately E. of, and conceivably even contiguous to, the embalming house to form a continuous complex.

τῷ Ἄπι: On the Apis-cult vide n. II, 38.

πᾶσάν τε περίστυλον ἐοῦσαν: The peristyle court is, at all periods, one of the commonest features of Eg. civil and religious architecture (Vandier, *Manuel*, II, 1–2, *passim*).

τύπων πλέην: “covered with reliefs”, another standard feature of Eg. religious architecture. The sculptures will have depicted the king engaged in ritual activities on behalf of the Apis.

ἀντὶ δὲ κιώνων ... τῇ αὐλῇ: H. clearly thought that the supports were true caryatids. These are, however, extremely rare in Eg. contexts (e.g. the Bes-caryatids at Gebel Barkal, XXVth Dyn., Jéquier, *Les Eléments de l'Architecture*, p. 162). However, there are numerous examples of ps.-caryatids where pillars are simply *fronted* by colossal figures of the king in the form of Osiris. In almost all cases they occur, as in the present case, around the courts of temples (Jéquier, op. cit., p. 158 ff.). It is very likely, in view of the Osirian connections of the Apis (n. II, 38), that Psammetichus' pillars were of this type but the possibility cannot be excluded that they were true caryatids.

ὁ δὲ Ἄπις ... Ἐπαφος: n. II, 38, 1. This identification was undoubtedly a factor in motivating H.'s discussion of the Apis temple, though points of at least equal importance were the status of the bull-cult as a *thōma* and the Gk. familiarity with the subject born of two centuries' acquaintance with Memphis (Introductory n. II, 147,2-157).

154. τοῖσι δὲ Ἴωσι ... Στρατόπεδα: On the political and military background vide Introduction, p. 16 ff. Most Classical and modern commentators are unequivocally Graeco-centric on this question but it should be borne firmly in mind that Gks. and Carians are not the only mercenaries identifiable in Psammetichus' reign. Asiatics (Ἰμω) were certainly employed (de Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 63(1965), p. 29 ff.), though their precise ethnic affinities are unclear, and it may well be that the Shosu-beduin who were settled near Sais in Regnal Year 9 fall into the same category (Caminos, *JEA* 50(1964), p. 94 ff.; Spalinger, *JARCE* 13(1976), p. 138). In subsequent reigns there is further evidence of Asiatic mercenaries, both Jewish and Phoenician (Introduction, p. 21 ff.; n. II, 163, 1; Schäfer, *Klio* 4(1904), p. 152 ff. ~ *BAR* IV, §994; Sauneron-Yoyotte, *VT* 2(1952), p. 131; Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*; Freedy-Redford, *JAOS* 90(1970), p. 476 ff.; Grelot, *CdE* 45(1970), p. 120 ff.).

καὶ δὴ καὶ παῖδας ... γεγόνασι: This group must have become an important source of information on Eg. history and civilization but, if modern Eg. linguistic facility is any guide, such formal measures would hardly have been necessary. Any local who had dealings with foreigners would quickly have acquired a measure of bilingualism (Introduction, p. 115 ff.; cf. v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 18).

εἰσι δὲ οὗτοι οἱ χώροι ... τοῦ Νείλου: The identification of these sites has given rise to much discussion (cf. Introduction, p. 16 ff.), but the recent discovery of a camp ("Migdol") E. of the Pelusiac branch (Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*², p. 134 ff.) requires a reappraisal of our evidence. With Daphnae and "Migdol" we now have two installations, one on either side of the Pelusiac branch between Bubastis and the sea, i.e. in precisely the position described by H. The only objection to identifying them with the *Stratopeda* is that they both show Greek material of Amasis' reign by which time the *Stratopeda* are alleged to have been definitely abandoned. Perhaps the best solution is to argue that the *Stratopeda* were founded by Psammetichus I, stripped of foreign troops at the beginning of Amasis' reign, and later in the same reign regarrisoned with Carians and Ionians, perhaps in response to the growing menace of Persia. If so, H. would appear to be ignorant of the latter phase in the history of the camps.

τούτους μὲν δὴ χρόνῳ ὕστερον ... πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων: On the circumstances and H.'s misunderstanding thereof vide Introduction, p. 23. Gk. and Carian

communities at Memphis are mentioned in an Aramaic letter of the 5th Century B.C. (Smith, *A Visit to Ancient Egypt*, p. 60) and the quarters where they resided are described by Aristagoras in the 4th Century B.C. as the *Hellēnikon* and the *Karikon*, with the additional detail that the inhabitants were called *Hellēnomemphitai* and *Karomemphitai* (*FgrH* 608, F.9; cf. Polyaeus, *Strat* VII, 3; Świderek in Bingen–Cambier–Nachtergaele, *Le Monde Grec*, p. 673). The settlements may well have come into existence as a result of Amasis' measures, though it is not impossible that they were even older. The E. Gk. pottery of the 6th Century which has come to light in Memphis and its environs is probably attributable in part to these troops while the gravestone of a Gk (Milesian?) discovered in the Abusir necropolis (N.W. of Memphis) and other Hellenic or Hellenizing material are at least indications of a Gk. presence (cf. Boardman, *op. cit.*, p. 152 ff.). The Memphite necropolis at Saqqara has yielded a substantial quantity of Carian material which not only corroborates the textual evidence but proves that the Carians achieved a considerable degree of integration into Eg. culture, particularly religion (Masson–Yoyotte, *Objets Pharaoniques à Inscription Carienne*, pp. 1, 4 ff., 9 ff., 17 ff., 20 ff., 28 ff., 40 ff.; Emery, *JEA* 57(1971), p. 3 ff.; Lloyd, *JEA* 64(1978), p. 107 ff.; Masson–Martin–Nicholls, *Carian Inscriptions from North Saqqāra and Buhen*; Ray, *JEA* 68(1982), p. 181 ff.).

τούτων δὲ οἰκισθέντων ... κατοικίσθησαν: As so often, H. is keenly aware of the nature and value of his sources (Introduction, p. 77 ff.).

πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ... κατοικίσθησαν: The emphasis is on permanent settlements rather than short-term visits or employment. Seen from that point of view and restricted to the Saite Period and later, H.'s statement may well be correct. It should be remembered, however, that older parallels are easily found even in the military sphere (n. II, 112; Černý, *CAH* II³, 2, p. 618.; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, p. 244 ff.).

ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἐξάνεστησαν ... ἦσαν: The camps were clearly naval stations as well as army-bases for several reasons:

1. *Holkoi*, "slipways", seem to have been used only for war-galleys in order to draw them out of the water whenever possible (Blackman in Morrison–Williams, *Greek Oared Ships*, p. 181 ff.; Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, p. 363 ff.).
2. *Naus* by itself often denotes a warship (Morrison–Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 245).
3. In the Stele of Regnal Year 4 of Amasis we hear of "war-galleys filled with *H3w nbw(t)*". *H3w nbw(t)* is a term which includes Gks. (Lloyd, *JHS* 95(1975), p. 59).

Since the slipways could still be identified after c. 120 years they were probably made of mud-brick or stone. It would have been possible to make

the entire structure of compacted mud (for an Eg. example in *desert* country vide Vandersleyen, *BIFAO* 69(1971), p. 253 ff.) but it is questionable whether such slips would have been recognizable after years of neglect in the damp conditions prevalent in the Delta.

The ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκημάτων must have consisted almost entirely of mud-brick walls, doubtless already in the process of being robbed out for building material and *sebbakh* by the locals. There is a distinct possibility that these remains did not reflect the abandonment of the camps c. 570 but belonged to a later phase in their history (vide supra).

155–6. An excursus on Buto and its shrines. It was initially inspired by the importance of the oracle of Leto in Psammetichus' career (II, 152, 3) but owes its inordinate length in part to the *thōmasion* element in the shrine's mythology and in part to the fact that this mythology was paralleled by Gk. *logoi* concerning Leto and associated divinities (cf. Introductory n. II, 147, 2–157). The excursus looks suspiciously like a hastily composed afterthought which has never been properly integrated into the text. The transitions between 154 and 155 and between 156 and 157 are awkward. In addition, 156 contains some remarkably slipshod Greek. In all probability the insertion was suggested by 152, 3, at a late stage in composition but postponed to this point because H. wished to narrate the immediate consequences of the oracular response before giving an account of the shrines.

155. Τοῦ δὲ χρηστηρίου ... ἤδη: n. II, 152, 3.

καὶ δὴ λόγον ... ποιήσομαι: Predictably it is Buto's *thōmata* which attract attention (Introduction, p. 141 ff.).

Λητούς: Eg. Wadjet (n. II, 59, 3).

ἐν πόλι δὲ μεγάλη ... ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω: Cf. Str., XVII, 1, 18 (C802). At first sight the phrase ἀναπλέοντι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω seems redundant and Powell thought that ἐν δεξιᾷ or ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ had dropped out (*CQ* 29(1935), p. 80, on the grounds that the Sebennytic Branch ran E. of the city). However, we can rescue the received text by arguing that H.'s intention is to distinguish between different routes to Buto: "If a visitor comes by water to Egypt, the way to get to Buto is to voyage up the Sebennytic Branch (whereas travellers, e.g., from Mendes, would come by some other route)." Even if this explanation is correct, H. must still be convicted of muddled expression.

ἐν πόλι δὲ μεγάλη: The ruins of Buto at Tell el-Farâ'în cover an area of at least 175 acres. Excavation has demonstrated that it was an important and prosperous city in Ptol. and Roman times until the 3rd–4th Centuries A.D.

and there is little doubt that this held true for most, if not all, of the Pharaonic Period. This position it owed partly to its location across major N.-S. and E.-W. routes of communication and partly to its rôle as a major religious centre.

Bibliography: Petrie, *Ehnasya*; Sethe, *RE* III, 1086 ff.; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 187*ff.; Wilson, *JNES* 14(1955), p. 209 ff.; Seton-Williams, *JEA* 51(1965), p. 9 ff.; 52(1966), p. 163 ff.; 53(1967), p. 146 ff.; 55(1969), p. 5 ff.; Altenmüller, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I, 887 ff.

κατὰ τὸ Σεβεννυτικὸν καλεόμενον στόμα: Cf. Str., l.c. This branch of the Nile ran some distance to the E. of Buto but its precise course is unknown (Bietak, *Tell el-Dabʿa*, II, p. 148 ff.).

οὐνόμα δὲ τῇ πόλει ... ὠνόμασται μοι: n. II, 59, 3.

ἶρὸν δὲ ἔστι ... Ἀρτέμιδος: Apollo is the Eg. Horus and Artemis the Eg. Bastet (n. II, 83, 137, 156,5). The cult of “Horus of Pe (a quarter of Buto)” is mentioned on, or substantiated by, various monuments (Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 189*; Seton-Williams, *JEA* 51(1965), p. 14; ib. 52(1966) p. 168). The only evidence of the cult of Bastet is an inscription on a statue-fragment of the reign of Amasis which speaks of a *ḥm Hr wr wꜣdty ḥm nṯr Bꜣstt*, “Servant of Horus, great one of the double diadem, and prophet of Bastet” (Seton-Williams-Redford, *JEA* 55(1969), pp. 7 ff., 21), but this text does at least associate the cults of the two deities and, therefore, corroborates H. The presence of Bastet in Buto may explain why Wadjet is sometimes represented with a lion’s head and also why Wadjet was honoured in Bubastis, Bastet’s main cult centre (Seton-Williams-Redford, op. cit., p. 21). As yet, no trace of the joint shrine described by H. has been unearthed at Buto.

καὶ ὃ γε νηὸς τῆς Λητοῦς ... ὀργυιέων: Only one temple area has so far been identified on the site. The discovery there of the granite head of a lion-headed Wadjet and also of part of a statue of a priest of Wadjet as well as the size of the temple area itself proves that there lie the remains of the renowned temple of Wadjet. The site consists of a massive brick *temenos* wall 17–25 m. thick, orientated E.-W. and with its main entrance to the W. The earlier part of this wall is Ramesside, the later Saite. Inside this stands a second brick wall which is over 3 m. thick and encloses an area 31 x 65 m. It rose in steps to a height of 2.40 m. and was faced with mud plaster. The temple proper stands within this inner enclosure wall and is separated from it by a space of 1 m. Its walls were made of large limestone blocks 2–3 m. long set on a limestone pavement 86 cm. thick. This wall was faced with quartzite slabs which were fixed to it by copper strips. The ceiling was made of slabs of fine white quartzite embellished with five-pointed stars. Since the temple is similar to the Saite temple at Mendes (on which vide Hansen, *JARCE* 4(1965), p. 32; Holz *et al.*, *Mendes*, I, p. 23 ff.), and since traces of

the throne name of Amasis were found and Amasis is known to have been an active builder elsewhere in the Delta, the temple can confidently be ascribed to his reign. Seton-Williams claims that it was destroyed after the Persian invasion in 525 and only rebuilt in the Ptol. Period (*JEA* 55(1969), p. 7) but this cannot be so; for when H. saw it in the 5th Century it was clearly in working order. If the destruction, which clearly took place, belongs to the Persian Period, it must have post-dated H.'s visit.

Bibliography: Petrie, *Ehnasya*, p. 36 ff.; Seton-Williams, *JEA* 51(1965), p. 9 ff.; 52(1966), p. 163 ff.; 53(1967), p. 146 ff.; 55(1969), p. 5 ff.

ἔστι ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ ... τετράπηχυν: Linguistic difficulties have caused much distress:

1. νηὸς ἐξ ἐνὸς λίθου πεποιημένος ἔς τε ὕψος καὶ ἐς μῆκος, "a shrine which is monolithic as far as height and length are concerned". The emphasis on ὕψος and μῆκος is intended to exclude τὸ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὀροφῆς, i.e. H. is describing a lidless monolithic box. More ingenious remedies will be found in Verrall, *JHS* 16(1896), p. 158 ff.; van Groningen, *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, p. 577 ff.
2. καὶ τοίχος ἕκαστος τούτοις ἴσος. Τούτοις is generally taken as a dative of respect referring to ὕψος and μῆκος, "equal in respect of these", i.e. height and length are equal (How-Wells, *Commentary*, n. ad. loc.). Another possibility would be to regard it as referring to the succeeding sentence: "and each wall is equal to the following (sc. dimensions); each of them is forty cubits". The one serious objection to both interpretations is that no known Eg. temple shows such a perfect cuboid structure. We should, however, remember two points: first, H.'s claim that the height and length were identical may not be strictly accurate. After all the statement in II, 124, 5 that the length of the base of the Great Pyramid is identical to the height is demonstrably false; second, our knowledge of temple-building practice in the Delta is too scanty at all periods for the oddity of these proportions to weigh heavily against H. Powell adopts a much more drastic solution in that he treats καὶ τοίχος ἕκαστος as a gloss, transfers the comma from μῆκος to πεποιημένος and makes τούτοις refer to προπύλαια (*CQ* 29(1935), p. 81). The distance of προπύλαια from τούτοις and the fact that the received text yields a satisfactory sense deprive these suggestions of any appeal.
3. τεσσαράκοντα has disturbed many commentators (e.g. Wiedemann, Stein, Legrand, *ad loc.*; van Groningen, *op. cit.*, p. 577) since it gives an impossible size for a monolithic building. On the other hand, Stein *et al.* have reduced its proportions by emendation. It is preferable to regard H. as being mistaken on its monolithic nature. The joints between blocks on Eg. masonry could be very fine indeed (Clarke-Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, p. 96 ff.), and, if the surface were sculpted and painted, they might well only have been visible on very close

inspection. It should also be remembered that H.'s eye for distances was far from infallible and that his figure might be exaggerated (cf. nn. II, 8, 124, 148).

4. *παρωροφίς*, *hapax legomenon*, "the feature running along the roof". Pace How-Wells (*Commentary*, ad loc.), this cannot be a gable since Eg. buildings do not have such things. It must be the cornice which would curve outwards from a torus-moulding at roof level all round the building (Poll., I, 81; Kenrick, *The Egypt of Herodotus*, p. 200; Wheeler, *The Geography of Herodotus*, p. 376; Wiedemann, *Kommentar*, p. 555). Even if H. has got his measurement wrong, the proportion between the height of the cornice and the overall height of the building may be approximately correct since the cornice generally occupies about one ninth of a building's height (Letronne, *Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Egypte*, p. 80).

A final point to be noted is that the roof is claimed to be made of one stone, i.e. the stone had an area of c. 400 sq. m. This cannot be true. The temple must have been roofed with a number of stone slabs laid upon beams supported on the walls and columns or pillars. However, in H.'s defence it must be conceded that he would certainly not have found it easy to check the structure of the roof.

Our conclusion is that the received text should stand, that H.'s claim on the monolithic character of the building and its roof are probably the result of the inadequacy of his examination (in the case of the roof its sheer impossibility), and that neither measurements nor proportions should be taken too literally. What deity was worshipped in this shrine cannot be established but it would not be surprising if it were Ḥorus or Isis (cf. nn. II, 156).

156. οὕτω μὲν νυν ... ἡ Χέμμης καλυμένη: For the importance of *to thōmastōn* in determining H.'s subject-matter vide Introduction, p. 141 ff.

τῶν δὲ δευτέρων ... λέγουσι: H. unquestionably has in mind Hec.'s discussion of Chemmis (Introduction, pp. 129, 131; cf. v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 189 ff.).

ἡ Χέμμης καλυμένη: Eg. *ἡ bit(y)* > *Hb* > Gk. - *chēbis** (as in *Esenchēbis*, "Isis in Chemmis", and *Harchēbis*, "Horus of Chemmis") > *Chembis* (Hec., *FgrH* I, F. 305) > *Chemmis* (Sethe, *ZÄS* 30(1892), p. 113 ff.; Spiegelberg, *RT* 28(1906), p. 161 ff.). The original may have meant "Marsh-thicket of the King of Lower Egypt". The etymology of the name Chemmis given to Panopolis in U.E. is quite different (n. II, 91).

ἔστι μὲν ἐν λίμνῃ βαθῇ καὶ πλατῇ ... λέγουσι: Cf. Mela, I, 9; Hld., *Aethiopica*, II, 18. H. speaks of the island as being at Buto (vide infra) but we hear of an *ἡ-bit(y)* at several other places (XVIIth Nome of L.E.,

Chassinat, *Edfou*, VI, p. 48, no. XCIX; VIIth Nome of L.E., op. cit., I, p. 332, 2; Heliopolis, *P. Harris*, I, 29, 2–3; XIXth Nome of U.E., Chassinat, op. cit., IV, p. 189; XVIth Nome of U.E., Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Pap. Loeb*, p. X). The obvious explanation is that the third *ḥ-bit(y)* is essentially a mythical symbol comparable to the primeval hill and Osiris-grave both of which symbolize the source of demiurgic or cosmicizing power. This view is supported by three factors:

1. The location of the *ḥ-bit(y)* is not consistent. The same holds true of the hill and Osiris-grave. All Eg. temples were claimed to lie upon the hill, though it seems that Heliopolis was widely regarded as possessing the hill (Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 847 ff.), and many Eg. cities boasted an Osiris-grave (op. cit., p. 576).
2. The *ḥ-bit(y)* was an island. In Eg. mythology the island is simply another aspect of the primeval hill and functions, therefore, as a source of creative power.
3. The *ḥ-bit(y)* is located in the marshes which are intimately associated with demiurgic activity (n. II, 72; Morenz, *Der Gott auf der Blume*, p. 14 ff.).

The fact that the *ḥ-bit(y)* of Buto looms particularly large may have arisen because the concept of the creator emerging from an island in the marshes originated in Buto. The old city-god of Buto was the heron god Djebꜣty (sc. “He of Djebꜣat”, Djebꜣat being the old name of Buto, cf. *PT* 734) who was a creator god similar to the “Great Cackler” (n. II, 72). He was later subsumed in Ḥorus of Pe (i.e. Buto) whose cosmogonical aspect ideally suited him for such a fate (cf. Morenz, op. cit., pp. 35 ff., 42 ff., 61, 73 ff.), and he, in turn, was transmuted into Ḥorus, son of Isis, under Osirian influence (cf. Kees, *Horus und Seth*, p. 39 ff.; id., *Götterglaube*², p. 50; id., *Ancient Egypt*, p. 33). At some indefinable stage this concept may then have spread from Buto to establish itself on fertile ground in other parts of Egypt.

ἔστι μὲν ἐν λίμνῃ ... παρὰ τὸ ἐν Βουτοῖ ἱρόν: That the *ḥ bit(y)* near Buto was the Chemmis *par excellence* is clear as early as the *PT* (2190a). Doubtless we have a reference to the same place in a VIth Dyn. inscription which speaks of a *settlement* of that name in the far N. (*ḥ bit(y) nt Hr*, “The Chemmis of Ḥorus”, Dunham, *JEA* 24(1938), p. 1 ff.). Subsequently the connection is not in evidence until the Graeco-Roman Period when it is mentioned on numerous occasions (Chassinat, op. cit., III, p. 15, 3; VI, p. 149, 1; Sauneron, *Rituel de l'Embaumement*, 8, 9; Brugsch, *DG Supp.* p. 1064, ll. 70 ff.; Spiegelberg, *Petubastis*, p. 14 ff.). It seems reasonable to assume that, whenever Chemmis is mentioned without qualification, it is the site near Buto which is at issue (e.g. *PT* 1214b, 1703c, 1877d).

Edgar attempted to locate the lake to the E. of Tell el-Farâʿīn for two reasons (*ASAE* 11(1911), p. 89):

1. There is marshy ground extending between Tell el-Farâʿīn and Shaba.

Since a lake is mentioned there in the Arabic *Book of Pearls* and Edgar was also told that there used to be water in this area, he argued that the marsh must be the site of the lake.

2. The Eg. *Hb*, “Chemmis”, could easily have given rise to the Arabic place-name Shaba.

These two points, taken together, are sufficient to justify the suspicion, though nothing more, that the lake of Chemmis did indeed lie in the area in question. However, it must remain an open question whether the lake of Chemmis was identical with the Butic Lake of Str. (XVII, 1, 18(C802)) as suggested by Edgar (l.c.) and Ball (*Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, p. 22).

βαθέη: This detail is questionable since deep lakes do not occur in the Delta in modern times (Edgar, l.c.).

λέγεται δὲ ὑπ’ Αἰγυπτίων ... πλωτή: No Eg. source speaks of Chemmis as floating. The most probable origin of the idea is that the identification of Wadjet, Bastet and Ḳorus with Leto, Artemis and Apollo naturally led to the identification of Chemmis with the floating island of Ortygia-Delos on which Leto was alleged in Gk. tradition to have given birth to Artemis and Apollo (Pi., F. 78–9 (Bowra); *hAp* 14 ff.; Str., X, 5, 2(C485); Ael., *VH* V, 4; Hyginus, 140). Gk. travellers, conceivably Ionians from Naucratis, could then have injected the floating island into Gk. tradition in the course of several generations of discussion with the locals (cf. Heidel, *Hecataeus*, p. 100; Morenz, *Festschrift für Friedrich Zucker*, p. 277; Gwyn Griffiths, *Conflict*, p. 93). The Egs. may have been all the more ready to accept the idea since islands of papyrus are actually capable of floating (Butzer, *CAH*³ I, p. 66). Obviously the Egs. would have been able to tell by looking at the Chemmite island that it did not move, but if they were thinking of it in its *mythical* context (vide infra) rather than its present firmly anchored form, they might have been perfectly prepared to accept the Gk. suggestions on its mobility. It is worth noting that Classical writers had something of a predilection for floating islands (*Od* X, 3; Thphr., *HP* IV, 59; Plin., *HN* II, 95; Sen., *QN* III, 25).

αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγωγε ... πλωτή: Introduction, pp. 128 ff., 136.

ἐν δὴ ὦν ταύτῃ ... ἄφορα πολλά: The main elements of H.’s description are confirmed by Eg. sources:

1. Conventionalized and probably archaizing representations of the grove of Djebꜣaty (vide supra), probably the Butic Chemmis, portray the god, palm trees, water and several shrines of L.E. (Kees, *Götterglaube*², p. 50).
2. The association of a temple of Ḳorus with a grove, papyrus and a Chemmis emerges in *P. Harris*, I, 29, 2–3: “I restored ‘House of Ḳorus

Foremost of Sanctuaries'. I rebuilt its walls that were decayed. I restored the noble grove that was in it. I caused it to bloom with papyrus within a Chemmis".

3. That plants were a major and integral part of a Chemmis is clear from a Ptol. text: "I have brought to you a Chemmis of useful plants, you being safeguarded within them" (Chassinat, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 51, no. XVIII).
4. In ritual contexts trees symbolize the presence of divine protection and also of life-giving power (n. II, 138, 3–4).

These data agree perfectly with the concepts of the Chemmis as a source of cosmic creation (*vide supra*) and as a place of refuge (*vide infra*). However, in H.'s time the temple was probably of the standard type, though it is always possible that it conformed to the traditional design of the shrine of L.E. (on which *vide n. II, 4, 2*). The deities honoured at the three altars are debatable but, in view of the myth related below, Isis, Wadjet and Horus are much the most probable trio (*pace* Waddell, *Herodotus Book II*, *ad loc.*, who opts for Bastet instead of Isis).

λόγον δὲ τόνδε ... λέγουσι: Eg. texts simply refer to incidental details of the myth. Chemmis is mentioned as the place where Horus was born and reared (*PT* 1703c; Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, p. 14) or simply reared (*PT* 1214b; Chassinat, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 149, 1; Plu., *DIO* 18(*Mor* 357)) and Seth-Typhon's search for Horus is also described (Kees, *ZÄS* 57(1922), pp. 92 ff., 104; *Urk* VI, p. 135, 10–16; Chassinat, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 220, 3) but H. provides the only extant consecutive account. It should be noted that, if, as is probable, the idea of the floating island was inspired by the Gks. (*vide supra*), the Egs. had adapted it to their own ends; for the mobility of Delos, unlike that of Chemmis, was not explained as a means of providing security.

Λητώ ἐοῦσα ... γενομένων: On the Ogdoad *vide n. II, 43, 4*. No Eg. text connects Wadjet with the Ogdoad but the idea is easily explained; for the commonest manifestation of Wadjet was the cobra (n. II, 74) and the four goddesses of the Ogdoad were themselves depicted as serpent-headed. It is perfectly possible, as H. indicates, that there was a local myth based on such a correlation.

ὁ Τυφῶν: Seth (n. II, 144, 2).

Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ... παῖδας: This is orthodox as far as Horus is concerned but no Eg. text makes Bastet Isis' daughter or gives Horus a sister at all (Gwyn Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 94). Either we are confronted with Gk. confusion or Butic theology was heretical on this point.

Λητοῦν δὲ τροφὸν αὐτοῖσι ... γενέσθαι: The *communis opinio*. A Ptol. text describes her as *s' Hr m-hnw-n Hb*, "protection of Horus in Chemmis"

(Chassinat, op. cit., III, p. 15, 3) but she can also be confounded with Isis and become his mother as well as protector (op. cit., VI, p. 149, 1; Mariette, *Dendérah*, I, pl. 56a). The development of this rôle would have been facilitated by her position as the mother of the creator-god Nefertum (cf. Gwyn Griffiths, op. cit., p. 94). Note, however, that Nekhbet can replace Wadjet as Horus' protector (Hopfner, *Tierkult*, p. 56).

Αἰγυπτιστὶ δὲ Ἀπόλλων ... Βούβαστις: For the correlations Isis-Demeter and Artemis-Bastet vide nn. II, 59, and for Apollo-Horus vide n. II, 144.

ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου ... Δήμητρος: It is not improbable that Aeschylus derived this idea from Hec. (Powell, *CQ* 29(1935), p. 82; cf. Introduction, p. 133).

διὰ τοῦτο: Powell regards Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ... Δήμητρος as an interpolation on the grounds that διὰ τοῦτο lacks an antecedent in the received text (op. cit., p. 81 ff.). This is a possible but unnecessary hypothesis. The "interpolation" is surely H.'s equivalent of a footnote and, therefore, an integral part of the *logos* to which the διὰ τοῦτο refers.

Bibliography: Brugsch, *DG* p. 568 ff.; Edgar, *ASAE* 11(1911), p. 87 ff.; Hopfner, *Tierkult*, p. 55 ff.; Heidel, *Hecataeus and the Egyptian Priests*, p. 100; Gardiner, *JEA* 30(1944), p. 23 ff.; id., *AEO* II, 41*, 190*ff., 261*ff.; Bonnet, *RÄRG* pp. 129, 130 ff.; Klasens, *A Magical Statue Base*, p. 72 ff.; Morenz-Schubart, *Der Gott auf der Blume*; Morenz in *Festschrift für Friedrich Zucker*, p. 275 ff.; Kees, *Götterglaube*², p. 50; Gwyn Griffiths, *Conflict*, pp. 46, 66, 87-8, 92-3, 95, 144; Michailidis, *BIFAO* 66(1968), 49 ff.

157. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου ... ἔτεα: Correct (cf. Introduction, p. 189 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 15).

τῶν τὰ ἐνὸς δέοντα ... ἐς ὃ ἐξείλε: Although its length has obviously been exaggerated (vide infra), the historicity of the siege can be accepted with confidence. Since Ashdod lay on the grand trunk road through the maritime plain from Egypt to Damascus and the N., and was, moreover, the northernmost of the major Philistine cities, it was of immense strategic importance. Eg. control of the site meant control of Philistia and an "open-sesame" to Syria-Palestine whilst any northern power with ambitions to the south had to take or, at least, neutralize it. Commercially, it was also a rich prize: not only did Ashdod benefit from its position on the main N.-S. line of communication but it also exploited E.-W. trade routes as well as maritime commerce through its port at Tell Mor on the Nahal Lachish (Tadmor, *The Biblical Archaeologist* 29(1966), p. 86 ff.; Dothan-Freedman, *Atiqot* 7(1967); Dothan, ib. 9-10(1971)). Excavation has shown that it suffered the consequences of its favoured position on no fewer than four occasions during the 8th and 7th Centuries. That one of the disasters was indeed caused by Psammetichus is indicated by two factors: first, the series of four destroyed cities (Strata 4, 3b, 3a, 2) fits neatly the four historically

documented assaults of Uzziah (c. 785–33), Sargon II (712), Psammetichus and Nebuchadrezzar (Dothan, *op. cit.* 9–10(1971), p. 21; second, the presence of Saite antiquities in Stratum 2, though few in number, tends to confirm that the destruction of 3a was a Saite achievement (*op. cit.*, p. 33). The context of this event was probably a defensive strategy designed to safeguard Egypt against attack from the N. (*vide infra*) but the date is a problem. We have the following data:

1. Psammetichus was preoccupied with internal affairs until 656 (Introduction, p. 16 ff.).
2. At Psammetichus' accession Philistia lay under Assyrian control (Tadmor, *op. cit.*, p. 80 ff.). After 655 Assyria's war against Elam and the rebellion of Babylon (c. 651) loosened Assyrian control of the S.W. which seems to have been lost entirely by the mid 630s.
3. During their raid towards Egypt the Scythians must have dominated the territory around Ashdod, if not the city itself (H., I, 103–6). The *terminus post quem* for this event is c. 637 since Assyrian records, which are relatively full up to that point, make no mention of the invasion. The *terminus ante* falls c. 625 since, to judge from H., the Scythian hegemony of Asia came to an end at that time.
4. The Nabopolassar Chronicle reveals that in 616 B.C. Eg. troops were fighting in Mesopotamia on behalf of the Assyrians against the Chaldaeans (Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria & Babylonia*, II, §1171; Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh*, p. 5 ff.; Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings*, p. 11 ff.). In view of Ashdod's geographical position this operation presupposes Eg. control of the city either by diplomatic or military action.
5. The Serapeum stele of Regnal Year 52 of Psammetichus I, i.e. 612, may imply Eg. control of the Lebanon at that time (*BAR* IV, §963 ff.) which might, in turn, imply control of Ashdod. However, this text could reflect nothing more than commercial links maintained by sea.
6. The Chaldaean Chronicle speaks of Eg. forces assisting the Assyrians in 610–9 B.C. (Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 18 ff.). The strategic implications are the same as for 4.
7. Although explicit textual evidence is lacking, the most reasonable interpretation of Saite activities in the Near East and E. Mediterranean is that they mainly reflect Egypt's traditional defensive strategy of creating a buffer-zone against, or a counterweight to, any great power which might threaten Egypt from that quarter (Introduction, p. 20 ff.; this is not to deny Eg. awareness of the commercial benefits which might accrue, *vide* Spalinger, *SAK* 5(1977), p. 222). This policy was pursued by diplomacy, force, or a combination of both: Psammetichus I employed both techniques (cf. the military alliance with Assyria in 616 (Gadd, *op. cit.*, p. 6; Wiseman, *op. cit.*, p. 12)); Necho (n. II, 159) and Apries (n. II, 161) resorted to military solutions whilst Psammetichus II (n. II, 161) and Amasis (n. II, 181) relied on diplomatic methods.

It will be immediately clear that this evidence is insufficient to date H.'s siege, but we can narrow the time-scale a little. Obviously Psammetichus could not have embarked on a campaign in Philistia before 656 and would probably have waited several years after that date before doing so (1). However, after c. 655 the strategic predicament of the Assyrian Empire created increasingly favourable conditions for an Eg. move into Philistia, and by 630 at the latest the collapse of Assyrian power in the W. had created a power vacuum in the area (2) which Psammetichus' Near-Eastern strategy would not have permitted him to ignore for long (7). It seems highly probable, therefore, that Ashdod came under Eg. control some time between c. 655 and c. 630, and it would be reasonable to suspect that it is this event which H. is describing. However, this control may have been achieved by diplomacy, temporarily lost during the Scythian invasion (3) and subsequently recovered by force. If so, we should have another candidate for H.'s siege. It should be emphasized, however, that our evidence for this period is very limited and that situations may have arisen on other occasions which demanded military action against Ashdod. Whatever the uncertainties, however, the city's geographical position makes it certain that Egypt dominated the place in 616 (4) and the events of 610–9 B.C. indicate that this situation continued to the end of Psammetichus' reign (6, cf. 5).

Bibliography: Streck, *Assurbanipal*, p. CCCLXI ff.; Hall, *CAH* III, p. 293 ff.; Malamat, *JNES* 9(1950), p. 218 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 32; Christophe, *Cahiers d'Histoire Egyptienne* IV (3/4) (1952), p. 232; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 17; Strange, *Studia Theologica* 20(1966), p. 135 ff.; Tadmor, *The Biblical Archaeologist* 20(1966), p. 86 ff.; Dothan–Freedman, *ʿAtiqot* 6(1966); Freedy–Redford, *JAOS* 90(1970), p. 476 ff.; Malamat, *JNES* 5(1973), p. 270 ff.; id., *Acta Antiqua* 22(1974), p. 446 ff.; id., *VT* 28(1974), p. 125; Spalinger, *SAK* 5(1977), p. 221 ff.; Naʿaman, *Tel Aviv* 6(1979), p. 68 ff.

τῶν τὰ ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα: Pace Cazelles (*Revue Biblique* 74(1967), p. 26), the length of this siege has naturally excited incredulity. Several explanations have been offered: Psammetichus may have attacked Ashdod first c. 655 and then again after the withdrawal of the Scythians in the 620s and H. has erroneously assumed an *unbroken* siege between these two dates (Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 17); the figure may be related to the length of the Scythian hegemony of Asia (28 years: H., I, 10) (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, III, p. 331 ff.; Hall, *CAH* III, p. 295); the city could have been taken in Regnal Year 29 and this dating subsequently misunderstood (Tadmor, op. cit., p. 101 ff.); Strange takes the same view (*Studia Theologica* 20(1966), p. 136), and also offers, with less enthusiasm, the alternative explanation that the siege may have begun in 640–39 B.C., 29 years before Psammetichus' death (op. cit., p. 135). There is no means by which we can determine which, if any, of these explanations is correct.

ʿΑζωτον: Heb. אֲשְׁדֹד, *Ashdod*. The earliest reference to this city occurs in an Ugaritic text of the 14th–13th Century B.C. (Dothan–Freedman, op.

cit., p. 8). The tell containing its ruins forms part of the modern village of Isdud.

αὕτη δὲ ἡ Ἄζωτος ... τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν: It is evidently *to thōmasion* which attracted H.'s attention (Introduction, p. 141 ff.). He shows no knowledge of the military context. It may well be, however, that it was only the extraordinary nature of the siege of Ashdod that had left an impression on the particular tradition, Gk. or Eg., which he is exploiting at this point.

158-9. The reign of Necho II (610-595 B.C.). *To thōmasion* (nn. II, 158) and relevance to Greece (nn. II, 159) are probably the main factors determining choice of material. Although we must make allowance for a dash of autopsy in II, 158, the subject-matter derives pre-eminently from Gk. oral tradition (cf. II, 154, 4) and reflects the selectivity, tendency to exaggeration and the world-attitudes which we would expect of such a source: Ch 158 is concerned with Necho's abortive efforts to construct a great canal between the Nile and the Red Sea and contains a detailed description of the canal subsequently excavated by Darius along the same route. It would naturally make an impression on Gk. historical consciousness because it was spectacular and was constructed in an area where Gk. mercenary camps were located (II, 154). Exaggeration and Gk. attitudes are particularly in evidence at 158, 5. Ch. 159 mentions Necho's naval policy in the Mediterranean and Red Sea and briefly refers to his military operations in the Levant. The reasons for mentioning the latter are probably the presence of a dedication relating to them in a major Gk. temple and possibly the fact that Gk. mercenaries participated (Introduction, p. 20 ff.). Gk. involvement would also explain interest in Necho's triremes (n. ad loc.).

The motivation behind these activities does not trouble H. and is nowhere revealed in Eg. sources but we may reasonably guess that Necho was following the lead of his predecessor in pursuing traditional and well-tried Pharaonic policies (Introductory n. II, 102-110). In practical terms this entailed an essentially defensive strategy in the Levant, however aggressive its manifestations, a keen eye to any commercial advantages that might accrue from such a policy, and an acquisitive attitude to the S., whether expressed in commercial or military terms.

Bibliography (General): Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I. bis auf Alexander den Grossen*, p. 147 ff.; Hall, *CAH* III, p. 294 ff.; Pieper, *RE* XVI, 2167 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 49 ff.; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, pp. 20 ff., 53, 159 ff.; Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, Index, s.v. Necho II; Yoyotte in Pirot *et al.* (Eds.), *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Supp. VI, 365 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*⁴, Index, s.v. Nékao II; Spalinger, *SAK* 5(1977), p. 221 ff.; id., *Orientalia* 47(1978), p. 12 ff.; Redford, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, IV, 369 ff.; Lloyd in Trigger *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt: a Social History*, Index, s.v. Necho.

158. Νεκῶς: Manetho gives *Nechaō* (*FgrH* 609, p. 48 ff., F. 2-3c; p. 111, F. 28); Eg. *Nkꜣw* (Gauthier, *LR* IV, p. 86 ff.); Heb. נֶכְחֹ, נֶכְחֹ *Nekhō*.

ὅς τῇ διώρυγι ... φερούση: cf. D.S. (I, 33, 8 ff.) and Str. (XVII, I, 25 (C804)), both probably largely derived from H. Some scholars have used Hec.'s reference to Phacoussae (*FgrH* I, F. 303) as evidence that he had mentioned the canal on the grounds that Phacoussae was the starting point of the *Ptolemaic* canal (vide infra). However, since Phacoussae lay near the apex of the Delta and H. speaks of Darius' canal as beginning κατύπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος, it would be wiser to accept that the later canal started further S. than that of Darius (vide infra). If so, Hec. must have had some other reason for mentioning Phacoussae and whether he discussed the canal at all must remain an open question. At all events, the fact that H. is known to have travelled in the E. Delta (Introduction, p. 72) makes it extremely probable that some, at least, of the material here derives from autopsy.

The historicity of Necho's enterprise is confirmed neither by literary nor archaeological evidence. In his canal stelae (vide infra) Darius speaks of inspecting a waterway before beginning work on his project (Posener, *La Première Domination Perse en Egypte*, p. 57, l. 17). It is possible that this refers to Necho's canal (id., *CdE* 13(1938), p. 272) but judgement is best suspended since Darius may have been looking at the irrigation canal which had run for centuries through the Wadi Tumilat (vide infra). Equally problematic are the remains of a canal observed by Naville south-east of Tell el-Maskhutah (*The Store-City of Pithom*⁴, p. 2). They could be part of Necho's work but their date is indeterminate and, in any case, we do not even know how far Necho got. However, the absence of confirmation need not induce scepticism: Necho is known to have been interested in the Red Sea (vide infra) and the Gks. were well placed to know the truth on the matter (Introductory n. II, 158–9).

What was the purpose of Necho's project? Certainly it would have conferred strategic mobility in that it facilitated the transfer of naval forces from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea and *vice versa* (cf. Spalinger, *SAK* 5(1977), p. 232) but that was probably a secondary benefit. The most plausible explanation is that it reflects the resuscitation of Egypt's traditional commercial interest in the Red Sea which gave access to the land of Punt (approximately the modern Eritrea and its hinterland), a source, in particular, of the incense essential for Egyptian religious ritual. The canal would enable the outward journey to be made entirely by water which would be easier, cheaper and safer than any of the alternatives. Once into the Gulf of Suez ships could run before the prevailing northerly wind. The latter would, however, have prevented them from returning in the same way and cargoes would have been unloaded at some place such as Koseir and ferried overland in the time-honoured fashion (Lloyd, *JEA* 63(1977), p. 142; cf. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 24; Senac, *La Revue Maritime* 241(1967), p. 284. Clédat suggested that Necho would have derived revenues from transit trade via the canal (*BIFAO* 23(1924), p. 82)). The Red Sea triremes of II, 159, were probably designed to protect this commerce (n. ad loc.) whilst the alleged circumnavigation of Africa

attributed to Necho (H., IV, 42) is best explained as a pseudo-historical fabrication reflecting his preoccupation with the Red Sea (Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 148 ff.).

πρώτος: Claims have been made, both ancient and modern, that Necho had been anticipated and this is by no means impossible. The modern Fresh Water or Ismailiyeh Canal running through the Wadi certainly had an ancient counterpart from an early period (Clédat, *op. cit.*, p. 61 ff.; Baedeker, *Egypt*⁷, p. 180; Posener, *CdE* 13(1938), p. 259 ff.; Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 193 ff.; Montet, *DG* I, p. 218 ff.) and at a time of strong government it would have been relatively easy to deepen and widen this feature to accommodate merchant or naval vessels. A southern extension could then have been added to run from the E. end of the Wadi to the Gulf of Suez which in high antiquity stretched further northwards than it does at present (Ménant, *RT* 9(1887), p. 131; Naville, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Kütthmann, *Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens*, p. 23 ff.; Posener, *op. cit.*, p. 262). Furthermore, Eg. willingness to engage in hydraulic schemes well beyond the E. end of the Wadi Tumilat is spectacularly demonstrated by the recently discovered Eastern Canal, possibly M.K. in date, which runs N. across the Isthmus of Suez from L. Timsah via L. Ballah to the sea and which may have been a northern extension of the fresh-water canal previously mentioned (Sneh-Weissbrod-Perath, *American Scientist* 63(1975), p. 542 ff.; Shea, *BASOR* 226(1977), p. 31 ff.). This appears to have been defensive rather than commercial or naval in character but the men responsible would certainly have found a Red Sea canal of the kind envisaged by Necho well within their capacity. However, although we must admit the possibility that a Red Sea navigation canal existed before Necho's time, we must, at the same time, concede that there is no good evidence that it did. Admittedly Arist. (*Mete* I, 14(352b)), Str. (XVII, 1, 25(C804)) and Plin. (*HN* VI, 165 ff.) claim that Sesostris had undertaken one but this tradition could well be nothing more than an example of the late tendency for Egs. to use the Sesostris legend for nationalist anti-Persian propaganda, Sesostris, the ideal embodiment of Eg. kingship, being represented as beating Darius to it centuries before (Introductory n. II, 102–110; Delbrueck, *BJ* 155–6(1955–6), p. 20; cf. Lloyd, *JEA* 63(1977), p. 152), and, in any case, there is no good evidence whatsoever of a Red Sea canal as early as the M.K., the period to which the historical Sesostris belongs (Posener, *op. cit.*, p. 266 ff.). As for the alleged XVIIIth and XIXth Dyn. prototypes, the data are equally suspect and belief is best suspended (Posener, *op. cit.*, p. 270 ff.). In the present state of the evidence, therefore, H.'s *prōtos* excites no qualms.

ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν: Here “Red Sea” or “Southern Ocean” would be apposite translations. For H.'s use of the term vide n. II, 8.

τὴν Δαρείος ὁ Πέρσης δεύτερα διώρυξε: Cf. H., IV, 39, 1. Other Classical

authors disagree: Arist. (l.c.), D.S. (l.c.) and Str. (l.c.) claim that Darius started it but gave up whilst Plin. (l.c.) simply states that he *thought* of constructing it. Contemporary Persian sources prove that H. is correct. They consist of four, possibly five, badly damaged stelae which have been discovered at several points along the right bank of the canal. They bore inscriptions in four languages, one side Hieroglyphic, the other cuneiform texts in Persian, Elamite and Babylonian, which prove that the canal was completed and in operation before the end of Darius' reign (Posener, op. cit., p. 271 ff.; id., *La Première Domination Perse en Egypte*, p. 48 ff.; *PM* IV, p. 52 ff.). The explanation for post-Herodotean claims to the contrary is probably, in part, the fact that, by the early Ptol. Period at the latest, the canal had become impassable (Lloyd, *JEA* 63(1977), p. 143, n. 7). Earlier commentators were inclined to date the completion of the canal well before the end of the 6th Century (e.g. Cameron, *JNES* 2(1943), p. 313) but there are two cogent arguments for placing it later:

1. In the canal stelae previously discussed the Hieroglyphic spelling of Darius' name has the form standard after Regnal Year 25 (497).
2. A figure probably referring to Regnal Year 24 (498) occurs in the damaged concluding section of the Suez Stele.

From this evidence Hinz concludes that the canal was opened in 497 (*Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* N.F. 8(1975), p. 115 ff.) and, using this datum, he also suggests that, in view of the arduous nature of the enterprise, it could not have been begun much later than c. 510.

What was Darius' purpose? The canal would certainly have facilitated trade and the transfer of naval forces from the Mediterranean for use against the eastern provinces of the Empire. Furthermore, we know that, immediately after its opening, it was used to transport tribute to Persia. On the whole, therefore, it is reasonable to see the canal as an element in a maritime counterpart of the Persian road-system, i.e. as part of a carefully calculated communications network designed to tie together the major parts of the Empire (Junge, *Dareios I*, p. 91 ff.; Posener, *La Première Domination Perse en Egypte*, p. xii; Delbrueck, op. cit., p. 19).

Darius' canal had several successors: Ptolemy II Philadelphus (Sethe, *Urk* II, 95; D.S., l.c.; Str., l.c.: cf. Plin., l.c., who claims that he never finished) and Trajan (Ptol., IV, 5, 54) both excavated one and the Arab conquerors of Egypt had one in operation by 644 A.D. (Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 165). These projects must largely have consisted in clearing earlier works which had silted up. However, we cannot assume that the course was identical at all periods and at all points nor can we assume that the dimensions were always the same. Consequently, the use of surviving remains of canals to reconstruct the canal of any one period should be taken only with extreme circumspection, especially since the dating of such features is usually impossible.

τῆς μῆκος ... ἡμέραι τέσσαρες: Plin. (l.c.) gives the distance as 62½ Roman

miles which is much too short since Bubastis lies a little over 100 miles from Suez. H.'s figure presupposes a speed of 25+ miles per day which is perfectly acceptable (n. II, 5). It is probable that Darius only had to work from scratch from the vicinity of Tell el-Maskhutah to the Suez area whilst the western stretch involved no more than deepening and widening the old irrigation canal (vide supra).

εὖρος δὲ ὠρύχθη ... ἐλαστρευμένας: Cf. VII, 24. Since the breadth of a trireme was c. 17 ft. and the length of its oars c. 14 ft. (Anderson, *Oared Fighting Ships*, p. 6; Morrison-Williams, *Greek Oared Ships*, pp. 285, 289) the width of the canal could not have been much less than 100 ft. and was probably substantially greater. A precise measurement is given in no contemporary source. Str. gives 100 cubits, i.e. c. 150 ft., as the width of the Philadelphus' canal (XVII, 1, 26(C805)). Figures derived from identification with surviving remains of old canals (e.g. How-Wells, *Commentary*, n. ad loc.) should be treated with caution since we cannot be certain whether the canals in question are Egyptian, Persian, Ptolemaic, Roman or Arab (vide supra). However, it is worth noting that remains of an ancient canal observed by the Napoleonic Expedition in the relevant area gave a width of 50 yds. (Baedeker, op. cit., p. 180). This agrees with Str.'s figure (vide supra) and at the very least confirms that one of the series had a width which suits H.'s notice rather well. That would still make it considerably narrower than the top of the Eastern Canal (vide supra) whose width is no less than 70 m. (Shea, op. cit., p. 32).

H.'s reference to triremes may be a reflection of the canal's military use (vide supra). It should also be observed that the Hieroglyphic text of the canal stelae speaks of *kbnt*-ships in connection with, or as operating on, it (Posener, *La Première Domination Perse en Egypte*, p. 57, l. 17; the Kabrit Stele, op. cit., pl. VIII, no. 25; Suez Stele, op. cit., pl. XIV, l. 19) and that there is good reason to suspect that the word *kbnt* could refer to triremes (Lloyd, *JEA* 58(1972), p. 272 ff.).

ἡκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου ... ἐς τὴν Ἑρυθρὴν θάλασσαν: H. orientates the reader by giving three well-known points along the canal. Pace Clédat (*BIFAO* 23(1924), p. 47), no inferences can be drawn about their relative proximity. Clédat noted remains of an ancient canal along much of this line (op. cit., p. 62 ff.). They become visible at Tell Abu Suliman at the W. entrance to the Wadi Tumilat, run due east as far as the exit, then S.E. as far as Serapeum and then S. to the Bitter Lakes. Posener regards it as uncertain whether the canal went round the lakes or through them (*CdE* 13(1938), p. 273). The remains appear W. of the station at Djeniffeh and zigzag southwards to reach the sea a little to the N. of Suez. The positioning of the canal stelae (vide supra) proves that the traces between Tell el-Maskhutah and Suez reflect essentially the route of Darius' great work and it is likely that the same holds true for those along the Wadi Tumilat.

ἡκται δὲ κατύπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος πόλιος: On Bubastis see n. II, 59, 1. Exactly how far S. of the city the canal began we cannot say but H.'s wording is hardly consistent with the apex of the Delta near, or at, which its Ptolemaic, Roman and Arab successors are alleged to have left the river (vide supra) and where the modern fresh-water canal still does. Furthermore, it should be remembered that, if the line of Clédat's canal is extended W. from Tell Abu Suliman, it would hit the Nile just S. of Bubastis approximately in the vicinity of Mina el-Kamh, thereby satisfying H.'s datum perfectly. On the whole, then, it is preferable to assume that later rulers found it convenient to begin their canals much further S. than Darius.

Πάτουμον τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν: Patoumos is universally conceded to have been identical with Biblical פִּתּוֹם , *Pithom*, Eg. *Pr-'Itm*, "House of Atūm", but the location has given rise to much debate (Gauthier, *DG* II, p. 59 ff.; Montet, *DG* I, p. 213 ff.). The data are as follows:

1. H. indicates that Patoumos lay on the line of the Red Sea Canal, E. of the alluvium (τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν, cf. n. II, 8, 1), i.e. in the Wadi Tumilat or the Isthmus of Suez.
2. Ptol. texts list a city called *Pr-'Itm* as the capital of the 8th Nome of L.E., i.e. the nome in which the Wadi Tumilat occurs (Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, p. 172 ff.).
3. The place-name *Pr-'Itm* is twice mentioned in Hieroglyphic inscriptions from Tell el-Maskhutah at the E. end of the Wadi Tumilat (Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, pl. IV, A and D). The precise location is not, however, stated.
4. Monuments from Tell el-Maskhutah and a temple on the site were dedicated to Atūm who must be the chief deity of Pithom/*Pr 'Itm* (Naville, op. cit., pp. 3 ff., 10 ff.).
5. In the Septuagint version of *Genesis* 46, 28, the Hebrew *Goshen* is rendered "Heroonpolis in the Land of Ramesses", whilst the Bohairic version of the Coptic Bible translates this "Heroonpolis" into *Pethom* (Naville, op. cit., p. 9; Gardiner, *JEA* 5(1918), p. 261 ff.).
6. Two Latin inscriptions found at Tell el-Maskhutah bore the place-names *Eropolis*, *Ero Castra* and *Ero* (Naville, op. cit., pl. 11; id., *JEA* 10(1924), p. 36; *CIL* Supp. III, 1, p. 1214, no. 6633) and a Gk. fragment showed the letters *HPOY* (Naville, op. cit., p. 9). *Ero/Eropolis* are known to be alternative forms of Heroonpolis (Naville, op. cit., p. 21 ff.; Gardiner, op. cit., p. 268).
7. A city called Heroonpolis is stated several times in ancient authors to have stood ἐν μυχώ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου (Str., XVII, 1, 26(C804-5); Plin., *HN* V, 9, 12; VI, 32-3; Ptol., II, 1, 6; IV, 5, 54). Since, *pace* Naville (*JEA* 10(1924), p. 36 ff.) *et al.*, the apex of the Gulf of Suez in Classical antiquity lay more or less at its modern position (the location of the Persian canal stele c. 7 kms. N. of Suez is sufficient proof of that; cf. in

general Küthmann, *op. cit.*, p. 15 ff.), it would seem that this Heroonpolis cannot be identified with Tell el-Maskhutah.

Although it is not absolutely certain, it is highly probable that the Graeco-Roman name of Tell el-Maskhutah was *Ero/Eropolis*, i.e. Heroonpolis (datum 6). Since Heroonpolis was the Graeco-Roman name of Pithom (datum 5), Heroonpolis/Pithom would then be located at Tell el-Maskhutah. Certainly datum 7 contradicts this but the case in favour of this location is so strong that we are justified in suspecting either that there were two different places with similar names, one at Tell el-Maskhutah, the other somewhere in the vicinity of Suez (cf. Clédat, *op. cit.*, p. 48), or that Lepsius was correct in assuming that, once the canal had been dug, the ancients came to include the Bitter Lakes and L. Timsah in the *kolpos* and thus regarded the gulf as beginning just to the E. of Tell el-Maskhutah (*Chronologie*, p. 345). Finally, the location of Pithom at Tell el-Maskhutah would enable us to identify the *Pr-Itm* of datum 3 as the Hieroglyphic name of the site which gave rise to the Hebrew and Coptic forms and would also be gratifyingly compatible with data 2 and 4. Conclusion: Patoumos almost certainly lay at Tell el-Maskhutah.

Bibliography: Dillmann, *SPAW* 39(1885), p. 889 ff.; Sourdille, *La Durée*, p. 76; Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*; Küthmann, *Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens*, p. 4 ff.; Gardiner, *JEA* 5(1918), p. 242 ff.; Clédat, *BIFAO* 18(1921), p. 184 ff.; id., *ib.* 23(1924), p. 46 ff.; Naville, *JEA* 10(1924), p. 32 ff.; Uphill, *JNES* 27(1968), p. 294 ff.

παρά Πάτουμον: “past” not “to Patoumos” (Gardiner, *JEA* 5(1918), p. 268). The translation has given unnecessary trouble (e.g. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, p. 34 ff.; id., *JEA* 10(1924), p. 38) but H.’s intentions are quite clear. In the lines *ἡκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου ... ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν* he neatly summarizes the three main sections of the canal: the western section on the plain, located by naming Bubastis, the most famous city in its vicinity; the central portion running through the Wadi Tumilat, fixed by mentioning Patoumos, the capital of the relevant nome (*vide supra*); the eastern section running S. from the E. end of the Wadi Tumilat to the sea. He subsequently goes on to describe each of these sections in detail (*vide infra*). Naville believed that he could detect remains of an ancient canal running past Tell el-Maskhutah to the S.E. (*The Store-City of Pithom*, p. 2, with map at end). Their date is an open question but he may well have been correct.

ὁρώρκεται ... ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον: H. amplifies the description of the three sections briefly summarized in the preceding sentences.

ὁρώρκεται δὲ πρῶτον ... πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ: Section 1. If the canal left the river in the general vicinity of the modern town of Mina el-Kamh, it will then have cut eastwards across the plain (*τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου τὰ πρὸς Ἀραβίην ἔχοντα*) approximately to the area of Tell Abu Suliman (*vide*

supra). From that point it turned N.E. hugging the eastern desert margin like the modern Ismailiyeh canal (ἔχεται ... πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ).

ἐν τῷ αἰ λίθοτομιαί ἐνεισι: Vide nn. II, 8, 1; 124, 2.

ἀπ' ἐσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ: Probably used imprecisely for N.E. since H. is talking about the canal's course along the E. cliff before entering the Wadi Tumilat and at that stage an exact E.-W. line would not have been possible.

καὶ ἔπειτα ... ἐς διασφάγας: Section 2. Kūthmann understood this clause as a reference to the area between the Bitter Lakes and the sea (op. cit., p. 15). He is certainly wrong. H. is clearly referring to the course of the canal through the Wadi Tumilat for two reasons:

1. This portion of II, 158 is amplifying the summary given previously in the sentence ἡκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου ... θάλασσαν and is obviously the counterpart of παρὰ Πάτουμον.
2. H. uses *diasphax* several times elsewhere of gorge through which a river runs (III, 117, 1-3; VII, 199, 216). It is, therefore, well suited to describe the Wadi Tumilat. The plural is, at first sight, strange but probably reflects the presence of subsidiary depressions forming part of the Wadi which also, in H.'s view, or that of his source, merited the name *diasphax*, e.g. that formed at the E. end by the long elevation W. of Bir Abu Ballah to the S. of which remains of an old canal have been identified (see map in Baedeker, op. cit., between pp. 184-5).

φέρουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρεος ... ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον: Section 3. This phrase forms the counterpart of the preceding ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν and describes the stretch running from Nefisheh at the E. end of the Wadi Tumilat to Suez (cf. Kūthmann, op. cit., p. 15).

τῇ δὲ ἐλάχιστόν ... στάδιοι <ἀπαρτί> χίλιοι ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον: Cf. IV, 41, and Str., XVII, 1, 21(C803). The distance is actually c. 115 kms. = c. 72 miles. The exact length of H.'s stade is unknown but lay between 179 and 213 m. (n. II, 6). Therefore, his 1000 stades amounts at most to 213 kms. and at least to 179 kms. Evidently both figures are too high but, in view of the imprecision of available measuring techniques, this need occasion no surprise (see in general nn. II, 6, 8, 124, 148).

ἐκ τῆς βορρῆς θαλάσσης: The term is so used of the Mediterranean because the latter formed part of the great ocean of the northern half of the *oikoumenē* (Lloyd, *JEA* 58(1972), p. 268, n. 2).

ἐς τὴν νοτίην ... καλεομένην: Vide supra.

ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου ὄρεος ... Συρίην: Vide n. II, 6, 1.

τοῦτο μὲν τὸ συντομώτατον ... σκολιωτέρη ἐστί: A very odd comparison. The distance previously quoted is the distance across the Isthmus of Suez from sea to sea. H. implies that, if the canal had not been crooked, it would have been the same length. This comparison, however, only makes sense if the canal had run along the line Mt. Casius–Suez whereas it followed that line for only half its length, the earlier section having essentially an E.–W. direction. We can only assume a confusion of thought: H. was concerned to point out that, owing to deviations from the straight line, the course of the canal along *the Isthmus* was longer than the distance as the crow flies. Then he has erroneously brought this fact into relation with the length of the *entire* Isthmus instead of merely the distance along that part of the Isthmus which was traversed by the canal.

ὅσῳ σκολιωτέρη ἐστί: The Ismailiyeh Canal and the traces of an ancient canal in this area both show this feature (see map in Baedeker, *op. cit.*, between pp. 184–5).

τὴν ἐπὶ Νεκῷ βασιλέος ... δυνάμει μισθώδεις: During work on the Mahmudieh Canal, which was begun in 1819, over 20,000 workmen are supposed to have died in six months out of a total annual work-force of 250,000 under conditions which were probably not all that different from those in Pharaonic times (Erman–Ranke, *Ägypten*, p. 567). Therefore, we need not doubt that Necho's casualties were heavy. At the same time, H.'s figure is startlingly high and is probably to be explained as an exaggeration emanating from popular or semi-popular anti-Necho propaganda (on Eg. hostility to Necho's memory see Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, p. 26; Yoyotte, *op. cit.*, p. 371; Spalinger, *Orientalia* 47(1978), p. 20. It may explain the surprising omission of this Pharaoh from the account of the Saite Period in D.S., I, 66 ff.).

Νεκῶς μὲν νυν ... προεργάζεσθαι: The oracle is clearly an *ex eventu* prophecy based on the Persian conquest of Egypt and intended to explain why Necho did not finish (cf. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 24; Crahay, *La Littérature Oraculaire*, p. 329). Its inspiration is undoubtedly Gk. since it belongs to the class of cautionary prophecies which are part of H.'s stock-in-trade throughout the Histories (Introductory n. II, 99–182). According to Str. it was Necho's death which prevented completion (XVII, 1, 25(C804)). This is plausible enough and may be the product of historically accurate information but it could equally well be no more than intelligent guesswork.

βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας ... ὁμογλώσσους: An apt comment. The Egs. often used the word *ἄνθρωπος*, "man", in the sense of "Egyptian", thereby indicating that all non-Egs. were non-human (*Wb* II, p. 423, 4). They evidently saw themselves as the possessors of cultural attributes which not only distingui-

shed them from, but made them superior to, all foreigners (n. II, 36, 2; Helck, *Saeculum* 15(1964), p. 103 ff.) and were capable of describing their foreign acquaintances in the most contemptuous terms (e.g. the Semneh Stele, Sethe, *Lesestücke*, p. 84~Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, *The Old and Middle Kingdom*, p. 119). Their world-view expressed this attitude as an always latent and sometimes actual state of war between Pharaoh and outsiders who are often regarded as the agents of chaos, the confederates of Seth (the nearest thing to an Eg. devil) (Erman-Ranke, op. cit., p. 35 ff.; Introduction, p. 96 ff.). In practice, however, they did not pursue a consistent and aggressive xenophobia but adapted their stance to the needs of the moment (Théodoridès, *Revue Int. Droits d'Antiquité* 22(1975), p. 87 ff.).

ὁμογλώσσους: Cf. II, 154, 4.

Bibliography (Red Sea Canal): Dillmann, *SPAW* 39(1885), p. 2 ff.; Ménant, *RT* 9(1887), p. 131 ff.; Müller, *Die Umseglung Afrikas*, p. 37; Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*⁴; Sourdille, *La Durée*, p. 73 ff.; Küthmann, *Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens*; Gardiner, *JEA* 5(1918), p. 267 ff.; Clédat, *BIFAO* 18(1921), p. 184 ff.; id., ib., 23(1924), pp. 27 ff., 61 ff.; Naville, *JEA* 10(1924), p. 32 ff.; Posener, *La Première Domination Perse en Egypte*, p. 48 ff.; Longden, *CAH* XI, p. 209 ff.; Posener, *CdE* 13(1938), p. 259 ff.; Newberry, *JEA* 28(1942), p. 64 ff.; Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, pp. 15, 68; Cameron, *JNES* 2(1943), p. 307 ff.; Junge, *Dareios I*, p. 91 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 50 ff.; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 24; Delbrueck, *BJ* 155-6(1955-6), p. 8 ff.; Crahay, *La Littérature Oraculaire*, p. 328; Yoyotte in Pirot et al., *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Supp. VI, p. 369 ff.; Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 113 ff.; Schiwiek, *BJ* 162(1962), p. 4 ff.; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 165; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Egypte*⁴, p. 583 ff.; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 191; Uphill, *JNES* 27(1968), p. 291 ff.; Hinz, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* N.F. 8(1975), p. 115 ff.; Sneh-Weissbrod-Perath, *American Scientist* 63(1975), p. 542 ff.; Shea, *BASOR* 226(1977), p. 31 ff.; Lloyd, *JEA* 63(1977), p. 142; Edakov, *VDI* 152(1980), p. 105 ff.

159. παυσάμενος δὲ τῆς διώρυχος ... πρὸς στρατηίας: According to this chronology work on the canal could have lasted no more than a year since Necho's campaigns were certainly in progress in 609 (vide infra). Str., on the other hand, stated that the canal was still being excavated when Necho died (595 B.C.) (XVII, 1, 25(C804)), though whether this notion was based on accurate historical information is an open question (see n. II, 158, 5). No Eg. evidence is available but H.'s chronology seems improbably constricted for the inception, prosecution and failure of the project and we are justified in suspecting that, while the canal *may* have been begun in 610, the enterprise was still in hand many years later, possibly until the end of the reign (cf. Müller, *Die Umseglung Afrikas*, p. 37, the instincts, if not the argument, being sound).

πρὸς στρατηίας: Necho's Asiatic campaigns. They resumed his father's attempts to counter the rise and expansion of the Chaldaean (Neo-Babylonian) Empire under Nabopolassar (626-605) and Nebuchadrezzar II (605-561) (n. II, 157). Necho's operations fall into four phases:

1. 610–9 (Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings*, p. 63; *II Kings* 23, 29; *II Chron* 35, 21–2; Josephus, *AJ* X, 5, 1). Eg. forces operated E. of the Euphrates against the Chaldaeans and in support of the remnant of the Assyrian Empire under Assuruballit. In 609 Eg. reinforcements marching N. under Necho were impeded at Megiddo by Josiah, king of Judah, defeated him and subsequently made his kingdom tributary. This phase terminated with the destruction of the Assyrian kingdom and Eg. withdrawal to the Euphrates line with their base at Carchemish, the key river crossing.
2. 607–5 (Wiseman, op. cit., p. 67; *Jeremiah* 46; Josephus, *AJ* X, 6, 1). The Battle for the Euphrates crossings. This was eventually won by the Chaldaeans through their defeat of the Egs. at Carchemish in 605.
3. 605 (Wiseman, op. cit., p. 67 ff.; Josephus, l.c.). The expulsion of the Egs. from the Levant and advance of the Chaldaeans to the borders of Egypt.
4. 604–595 (Wiseman, op. cit., pp. 69, 71 ff.; *II Kings* 24; *II Chron* 36; *Jeremiah* 27; Josephus, *AJ* X, 6, 1–2. It is possible that an Aramaic letter found at Saqqara and sent by a certain King Adon to an unspecified Pharaoh reflects these events, Fitzmyer, *Biblica* 46(1965), p. 41 ff.). The consolidation of Babylonian power in the Levant despite attempts by Eg. diplomacy at creating disruption. However, a Chaldaean drive to solve the Eg. problem by invasion was defeated on Egypt's E. frontier in 601.

Despite Necho's initial success in holding the Chaldaeans on the Euphrates this summary paints a gloomy picture of the progressive and disastrous curtailment of Eg. power and prestige in Asia between 605 and 595 B.C. From being on the offensive in 610 Egypt found herself in 601 fighting for her very independence. Eg. errors of judgement (strategic over-extension) and Chaldaean military strength were probably equally responsible for this situation. Nevertheless, Necho must at least get the credit for preventing the Chaldaean occupation of his country—and that, we have every reason to believe, was the ultimate aim of his policy.

Bibliography: Hall, *CAH* III, p. 297 ff.; Malamat, *JNES* 9(1950), p. 218 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 54 ff.; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 20 ff.; Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, p. 26 ff.; Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings*; Yoyotte in Pirot et al. (Eds.), *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Supp. VI, 372 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Egypte**, p. 592 ff.; Fitzmyer, *Biblica* 46(1965), p. 41 ff.; Strange, *Studia Theologica* 20(1966), p. 120 ff.; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 191 ff.; Malamat, *IEJ* 18(1968), p. 137 ff.; Lipinski, *Annali Ist. Orient. Napoli* 32(1972), p. 235 ff.; Malamat, *JANES* 5(1973), p. 267 ff.; id., *VT* Supp. 28(1974), p. 123 ff.; id., *Acta Antiqua* 22(1974), p. 445 ff.; id. et al., *A History of the Jewish People*, p. 148 ff.; Spalinger, *SAK* 5(1977), p. 221 ff.; id., *Orientalia* 47(1978), p. 12 ff.; Redford, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, IV, 369 ff.

καὶ τριήρεις: This reference presents three obvious problems:

1. Is the term *triērēs* valid?
2. If it is, where did Necho get the type?
3. At what date did he do so?

1. It is improbable that accurate information was always available for the early period on the type of ship employed and it is likely that H., or his source, simply assumed in some cases that the vessels in question were triremes because triremes would have been the type to employ in the Classical Period. In suspect cases, therefore, we must ask two questions: (a) Are triremes likely to have been available?; (b) Does the presence of triremes make sense in the context? Since an affirmative answer can be given to both questions (Introduction, p. 32 ff.; more recent studies are Müller in Kaiser, *MDAI(K)* 31(1975), p. 83 ff.; Lloyd, *JHS* 95(1975), p. 51 ff.; Basch, *ib.* 97(1977), p. 1 ff.; Lloyd, *JEA* 63(1977), p. 145 ff.; Morrison, *Mariner's Mirror* 65(1979), p. 53 ff.; Basch, *ib.*, p. 289 ff.; Lloyd, *JHS* 100(1980), p. 195 ff.; Basch, *ib.*, p. 198 ff.), we can accept with some confidence that H.'s use of the term is likely to be correct.
2. Theoretically there are two possible sources, Greece and Phoenicia, but available evidence suggests that the former is the more probable (Introduction, p. 35 ff.; more recent studies are Lloyd, *JHS* 95(1975), p. 45 ff.; Morrison, *op. cit.*; Basch, *Mariner's Mirror* 65(1979), p. 289 ff.). Furthermore, since the events in the rest of this chapter seem to be mentioned because Gks. had some connection with them (*vide infra*), there is a strong presumption that the same holds true for the triremes. The relationship may be no more than that they were crewed, at least in part, by Gk. mercenaries (nn. II, 154, 5; 163) but Gk. responsibility for the introduction of the type would provide a particularly potent reason for H.'s interest.
3. A date c. 610–9 is entirely feasible (Introduction, p. 37; Lloyd, *JHS* 95(1975), p. 58). The opinion recently mooted (e.g. Spalinger, *SAK* 5(1977), p. 231; *id.*, *Orientalia* 47(1978), p. 20 ff.) that Necho's maritime interests were a response to the military disasters suffered in Asia at the very end of the 7th Century is an unnecessary hypothesis and runs counter to H., the only ancient authority available.

Bibliography: Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Šahu-rēš*, II, p. 158 ff.; Davison *CQ* 41(1947), p. 18 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 60; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 24; Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, p. 85 ff.; Yoyotte in Pirot *et al.* (Eds.), *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Supp. VI, p. 371 ff.; Drioton–Vandier, *L'Égypte**, p. 583; Torr (ed. Podlecki), *Ancient Ships*; Morrison–Williams, *Greek Oared Ships*, p. 128 ff.; Basch, *Mariner's Mirror* 55(1969), pp. 139 ff., 227 ff.; Austin, *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age*, p. 55; Casson, *Mariner's Mirror* 56(1970), p. 340; Anderson, *Oared Fighting Ships*; Bass, *History of Seafaring*; Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, p. 80; Lloyd, *JEA* 58(1972), pp. 268 ff., 307 ff.; *id.*, *JHS* 95(1975), p. 45 ff.; Müller in Kaiser, *MDAI(K)* 31(1975), p. 39 ff.; Basch, *JHS* 97(1977), p. 1 ff.; Lloyd, *JEA* 63(1977), p. 142 ff.; Spalinger, *SAK* 5(1977), p. 221 ff.; *id.*, *Orientalia* 47(1978), p. 12 ff.; Morrison, *Mariner's Mirror* 64(1978), p. 206 ff.; *id.*, *ib.* 65(1979), p. 53 ff.; Basch, *ib.* p. 289 ff.; Lloyd, *JHS* 100(1980), p. 195 ff.; Basch, *ib.*, p. 198 ff.; Morrison, *Mariner's Mirror* 66(1980), p. 66 ff.

αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ βορρῇ θαλάσση: i.e. the Mediterranean (n. II, 158, 4). These ships presumably formed part of Necho's grand strategy for coping with the rise of Chaldaea and the implicit threat to Egyptian security, in which

context they would not only have provided a counter to naval attacks by the Phoenician fleet operating in conjunction with the Chaldaeans and guaranteed swift supply and reinforcement of Eg. armies in the Levant (for an alternative view vide Spalinger, *supra*), but would also have threatened the flank and rear of any land-force moving S.

αἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ: Here ὁ Ἀράβιος κόλπος means “the Red Sea”, ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα “the Erythrian Ocean” (vide n. II, 8, 1). Necho's Red Sea fleet cannot be seen in the same context as that in the Mediterranean (*pace* Müller, *Die Umseglung Afrikas*, p. 17), though, if Necho's canal had been completed, its transference N. in time of need would have presented no difficulty. It must reflect Necho's interest in developing Egypt's traditional commerce with the S.W. coast of the Red Sea and was presumably intended to guarantee his trading vessels freedom from attack by pirates or trading peoples (Edomites? Sabaeans?) already active in the area (Lloyd, *JEA* 63(1977), p. 145 ff.).

τῶν ἔτι οἱ ὀλκοὶ εἰσι δῆλοι: Vide n. II, 154, 5.

καὶ ταύτησί τε ἔχρατο ἐν τῷ δέοντι: The vagueness is of a piece with the generally defective nature of H.'s account of Necho's foreign policy (vide *infra*). Presumably we only get as much as this because Gk. sailors were involved (cf. Introductory n. II, 158–9).

καὶ Συρίοισι ... Μιλησίων: These are the only incidents in Necho's Asiatic campaigns specifically mentioned by H. As elsewhere in his account of Saite military activities in Asia he shows no knowledge of, or interest in, their strategic significance (on which vide *supra*). It is evident that they are mentioned simply because they were reflected in a dedication to a major Gk. shrine and possibly even mentioned on it (Jacoby, *FgrH* I, F.280 Kommentar). De Meulenaere suspects the influence of an Eg. source via Hec. (op. cit., p. 59; cf. Prašek, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Alterthums*, II, p. 6 ff.). This is a possible but unnecessary hypothesis.

καὶ Συρίοισι ... εἶλε: The Gks. applied the term *Syrioi/Syroi* to a wide range of peoples: Assyrians, Syrians, Palestinians and some inhabitants of Asia Minor (nn. II, 104). In the present case the historical context (vide *supra*) admits of two possibilities, Jews or Chaldaeans, the latter being confused with the Assyrians even in the Old Testament (cf. *II Kings* 23, 29; Kienitz, op. cit., p. 20; cf. de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 56). A decision depends on the identification of the sites of Magdōlos and Kadytis:

Magdōlos. Two possibilities have been canvassed: Megiddo in the Plain of Esdraelon (e.g. Kees, *RE* XIV, 299 ff.; de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 57; Drioton-Vandier, op. cit., p. 593) and Migdol on the E. frontier of Egypt (e.g. Beer-Moritz, *RE* X, 1478; Malamat, *JANES* 5(1973), p. 276, revising

his older view that Magdōlos/Migdol was an error for Megiddo, *JNES* 9(1950), p. 221). The arguments are as follows:

Megiddo. (Eg. *Mkti*; Heb. מְגִדּוֹ, *M^eghiddo*; *LXX Mageddō*; *Mendes*, Josephus, *AJ* X, 5, 1; Gauthier, *DG* III, p. 20 ff.). The subconscious attraction of this view has always been that it connects H.'s narrative with the Biblical Battle of Megiddo (vide supra). It can be supported by two arguments:

1. Megiddo and Magdōlos are phonetically similar.
2. The term *Syrioi* applied to the people defeated at Magdōlos could refer to Jews.

Neither argument is difficult to refute:

1. The phonetic similarity is far from complete since the Hebrew shows no trace of the "l" of Magdōlos.
2. *Syrioi* can just as easily be used of other nations involved in Necho's Asiatic wars.

Evidently the case is weak.

Migdol. (Eg. *Mktr*; Akkadian/Assyrian *Magdali*; Heb. מִגְדּוֹל, *Mighdōl*; Lat. *Magdalum*; Gauthier, *DG* III, p. 22; Kees, *RE* XIV, 299 ff.; Lipinski, *Annali Ist. Orient. Napoli* 32(1972), p. 237 ff.), possibly mod. Tell el-Her near Pelusium (Gardiner, *JEA* 6(1920), pp. 106 ff., 113). The arguments are as follows:

1. Phonetically the identification is impeccable.
2. Hec. records a city called *Magdōlos* as being a "city of Egypt" (*FgrH* I, F.317).
3. We know of a victory of Necho over the Chaldaeans in this area in 601–600 B.C. (vide supra).
4. The use of *Syrioi* to describe Chaldaeans is easily explained (vide supra).

1 and 2 are surely conclusive and completely justify locating Magdōlos at Migdol on the Eg. frontier. The *Syrioi* then become Chaldaeans (4) and we have a reference to Necho's defeat of Nebuchadrezzar at the turn of the century (3) (so also Malamat, *JANES* 5(1973), p. 276; Lipinski, op. cit., p. 235 ff.). The attempt to rescue the identification with Megiddo by claiming that "Magdōlos" is a confused reference to Megiddo (e.g. de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 57; Cazelles, *RB* 74(1967), p. 26) has nothing to recommend it and is superfluous to boot.

Kadytis (cf. Hec., *FgrH* I, F.280). Again there are two alternatives: Kadesh on the Orontes (supported by Prašek, op. cit., p. 9 ff.; Hall, *CAH* III, p. 297; Benzinger, *RE* VII, 881; Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings*, p. 31, n. 6) and the Philistine city of Gaza (supported by Malamat, *JNES* 9(1950), p. 221; Tadmor, *Biblical Archaeologist* 29(1966), p. 102, n. 60; Yoyotte, op. cit., p. 389; Freedy–Redford, *JAOS* 90(1970), p. 475, n. 57; Spalinger, *SAK* 5(1977), p. 230).

Kadesh (Eg. *Kdš*; Akkadian *Kinza*, *Kidši*, *Kidša*, *Gizza*, Gardiner, *AEO* I, p. 137*), mod. Tell Neby Mend. Two arguments have been advanced:

1. Kadesh and “Kadytis” are phonetically similar.
2. If Megiddo is Magdōlos, we must look N. of Megiddo to find the location of Kadytis since this city was attacked by Necho on his journey N. and after he passed Megiddo. Kadesh fills the bill admirably.

The linchpin of this thesis is the identification of Magdōlos with Megiddo. Since this is incorrect (*vide supra*), the case collapses in its entirety.

Gaza (Eg. *Gdt/Kdt*; Akkadian *Hazati/Azzati*; Heb. **חֲזָזָה**, *ḥazzā*; Gk. *Gaza*; Gauthier, *DG* V pp. 164, 213; Gardiner, *AEO* I, p. 191*). The arguments are as follows:

1. H. mentions Kadytis again at III, 5, and there the name must refer to Gaza (de Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, p. 58).
2. The Gk. “Kadytis” agrees perfectly with the Eg. and Akkadian names for Gaza.
3. An Eg. attack on Gaza at about the relevant time is mentioned by Jeremiah (47, 1 ff.; cf. de Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, p. 58).
4. An Eg. attack on Gaza after a victory at Migdol makes complete military sense because a counter-attack on the retreating Chaldaeans would inevitably bring them to that city and, in any case, an attempt to regain control of Philistia, to which Gaza gave access, would be a natural Eg. aim (cf. n. II, 157).

1 and 2, taken together, *prove* that Kadytis and Gaza are identical. 3 is open-ended in that it does not necessarily refer to Necho’s reign and 4 contains an element of speculation in that no source speaks specifically in these terms. Nevertheless, 3 and 4 between them contain enough probabilities to buttress confidence that H.’s siege of Gaza fell in 601–600 or immediately afterwards.

Conclusion: Magdōlos and Kadytis are certainly Migdol and Gaza respectively: the *Syrioi* are almost certainly Chaldaeans; the probabilities favour relating the events in question to Necho’s defeat of Nebuchadrezzar in 601/600 B.C. and its immediate aftermath.

ἐν τῇ δὲ ἑσθῇτι ... ἐς Βραγχίδας τὰς Μιλησίων: Cf. the recently discovered evidence of Necho’s dedications in the temple of Athena Polias at Ialysus on Rhodes (Leclant, *Orientalia* 48(1979), p. 406) and H.’s account of Amasis’ dedications in Gk. temples (II, 182). Both rulers evidently used them as instruments of foreign policy to cement relations with Gk. states with whom they were allied and of whose members they had actual or potential need. Necho’s dedication in the major Milesian shrine can only reflect the rôle played by Ionian mercenaries in the victories of Magdōlos and Kadytis (de Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, p. 59; Drioton–Vandier, *op. cit.*, p. 593, n. 1): their participation in the Asiatic campaigns is certain and, since Gk. garrisons were stationed in the E. Delta to protect the frontier and since Gk. and Carian mercenaries were, in any case, the best troops available (Introduc-

tion, p. 20 ff.), we can be confident that they were engaged in the desperate defence of Egypt in 601–600 B.C.

Βραγχίδας τὰς Μιλησίων: Branchidae, which lay c. 11 miles (c. 17.69 kms.) S. of Miletus, was a pan-Ionian and pan-Aeolic oracular shrine famed throughout the Gk. world (H., I, 157 ff.). It was, therefore, ideally suited for public-relations gestures such as that of Necho. H. had an intimate knowledge of the temple and its contents (I, 46, 3; 92, 2; 157 ff.; V, 36; VI, 19) which, in view of its proximity to Halicarnassus, probably derived from personal acquaintance. It should, however, be noted that since the shrine (Temple II) was plundered and burned by the Persians in 494 (VI, 19) we cannot be sure whether he actually saw *any* of the dedications which antedated that calamity. For the site in general vide Gelzer, *De Branchidis*; Haussoullier, *Milet et le Didymeion*; Knackfuss, *Didyma: Die Baubeschreibung*; Tuchelt, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, p. 272 ff., s.v. Didyma.

μετὰ δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη τὰ πάντα ἄρξας: Strictly speaking inaccurate since Necho reigned from the end of 610 until towards the end of 595, i.e. nearer fifteen years (Introduction, p. 192 ff.; Yoyotte, op. cit., p. 382 ff.). H.'s figure may have arisen in one of two ways:

1. Since the Egs. counted regnal years inclusively, he did have a Regnal Year 16 (de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 49) and H.'s statement reflects that.
2. The residual period at the end of 610 was rounded up to a year and 595 counted as a further full year (cf. n. II, 161, 1).

Since H.'s figure in II, 161, 1, certainly does not reflect the highest regnal year of Psammetichus II, the balance is perhaps tipped in favour of the second explanation.

Ψάμμι: Eg. *Psmṯk* (Gauthier, *LR* IV, 1, p. 92 ff.); Gk. *Psammētichos* (D.S., I, 68), *Psammouthis* (Manetho, *FgrH* 609, p. 50 ff., F.2–3c). The Gk. variants reflect differences of pronunciation: the first preserves the Eg. *k* as a guttural aspirate, the second has either dropped the *k* completely or reduced it to an aspirate which has then coalesced with *t* to give an aspirated alveolar stop. H.'s form drops the *k* completely. He, or his source/s, exploited these variants as a convenient means of differentiating the three Psammetichus's of the XXVIth Dyn. (on whom vide n. II, 2, 1). Manetho (l.c.) simply uses *heteros* and D.S. (l.c.) *hysteros* for this purpose.

160–161, 1. The reign of Psammis (Psammetichus II) (595–589) (Introduction, p. 192). Eg. documentation is rather fuller than for his predecessor and much light is shed by Near Eastern sources. H. speaks of two events only: the embassy of the Eleans concerning the organization of the Olympic Games (II, 160) and the expedition to Ethiopia (Nubia) (II, 161, 1). The first is almost certainly unhistorical (nn. II, 160); the second, however, is

recorded in several Eg. inscriptions and was probably the major event of the reign. In both cases it will be the Gk. connection which mainly attracted H., though the *sophia*, "wisdom", of II, 160, certainly exercised an influence in the first case whilst in the second the fabulous aura of Ethiopia in Gk. tradition must surely have produced some effect. H. shows no knowledge of the importance of the latter event and is inaccurate on its chronological position. He also says nothing of the contemporary situation in Asia with which Psammetichus was certainly closely concerned (n. II, 161, 1) or of his impressive building programme.

Bibliography: Hall, *CAH* III, p. 299 ff.; *PM* Royal Indexes, s.v. Psammetikhos II; Malamat, *JNES* 9(1950), p. 218 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 65 ff.; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 25 ff., 41 ff., 52; Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, pp. 25 ff., 28, 30 ff., 89; Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings*, p. 31; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Egypte*⁴, p. 594 ff.; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 192 ff.; Malamat, *IEJ* 18(1968), p. 137 ff.; Freedy-Redford, *JAOS* 90(1970), p. 462 ff.; Malamat, *VT Supp.* 28(1974), p. 123 ff.; Spalinger, *SAK* 5(1977), p. 221 ff.; id., *Orientalia* 47(1978), p. 12 ff.

160. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον [δὴ] τὸν Ψάμμιν ... ὑπεθήκαντο: Cf. D.S., I, 95; Plu., *Plat Quæst* 2(1000A). This intriguing tale seems to be compounded of five main elements: 1. The propaganda of Gk. cult politics; 2. The wisdom-of-the-Egyptians motif; 3. The wise-ruler motif; 4. The test motif; 5. Gk. attitudes to the Olympic Games. Since the composition of this episode places it firmly in line with other pseudo-historical *logoi* in Book II (on which vide Introductory n. II, 99–182), it has generally been regarded as quite unhistorical (e.g. Aly, *Volksmärchen*, p. 72; Meyer, *RE* XX, 1752; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 66). Decker, however, has taken the opposite view (*CdE* 49(1974), p. 31 ff.; cf. Touny-Wenig, *Der Sport im alten Ägypten*, p. 96) for the following reasons:

1. The close commercial and military relations which existed between Egypt and Greece encouraged such contacts (Decker, op. cit., p. 34 ff.).
2. As a pan-Hellenic centre Olympia provided a pool of information which facilitated Elean knowledge of Egypt (op. cit., p. 35).
3. The conflict between Elis and the Pisatans over control of the Olympic Games (vide infra) provides an authentic motive (op. cit., p. 35 ff.).
4. The Libyan Ammon (nn. II, 54–7) was worshipped at Olympia and contact with the Ammonium at Siwa was close (op. cit., p. 36 ff.).

The disagreement has its origin in methodology. Since Decker takes the tale in isolation, he is able to place the emphasis on such historical affinities as he can find and ignore the more suspect elements. This technique undoubtedly yields a superficially attractive case but is, nevertheless, in error. Each *logos* should be evaluated in the light of Herodotean *logoi* in general and, if it is found to contain elements typical of pseudo-historical *logoi* occurring elsewhere in his work, the only justifiable conclusion is that the *logos* in question falls into the same category. Normally it will not be possible to prove beyond doubt that there is nothing historical in it, but this

incapacity can never justify the suspension of scepticism. In the present instance, the application of this yardstick must induce total disbelief (vide nn. infra).

Ἐπὶ τοῦτον [δὴ] τὸν Ψάμμιν: D.S. places the Elean visit in the reign of Amasis (I, 95). This tradition had the considerable merit of being chronologically plausible since the Eleans were not even in possession of Olympia during the reign of Psammetichus II but were certainly its masters during that of Amasis (vide infra). Amasis also enjoyed the advantage of being much better known in the Gk. world than Psammetichus II and was, in addition, a renowned philhellene (Decker, op. cit., p. 38 ff.). The choice of Psammetichus as protagonist is indeed puzzling to modern eyes but it is possible that, through his Nubian expedition (n. II, 161, 1), he made a much deeper impression on Gk. historical consciousness than we are able to assess.

Ἡλείων ἄγγελοι: Element 1. The Eleans gained control of the Olympic Games c. 570 B.C., displacing the Pisatans with whom they had disputed the matter since the time of Pheidon (n. II, 7; Hönle, *Olympia in der Politik der griechischen Staatenwelt (von 776 bis zum Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts)*, p. 29 ff.). H.'s tale, despite its criticism of the Eleans' administration of the games and its relish at their discomfiture, gives clear Eg. recognition to their right to organize them. This suggests that the tale started life as a piece of Elean propaganda exploiting the mystique of the wisdom of Egypt's kings and its people (vide infra) to validate Elis' recently acquired control of the games. If so, the humbling of Elean pride would be an element added later as a reaction to Elean pretensions (vide infra).

τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους: Element 2. The tradition of Eg. intellectual prowess was at least as old as Hom. and probably constitutes the most persistent element in the Gk. tradition on Egypt, its most striking manifestation being the tendency to derive major ingredients of Gk. culture from Eg. sources (Introduction, pp. 49 ff., 122, 147 ff.; Froidefond, *Le Mirage Egyptien*, p. 137 ff.). Its presence in the Elean *logos* needs no exegesis.

ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος: Element 3. The wise-ruler/leader motif is much favoured in Gk. historical tradition (e.g. Solon, Lycurgus) and inevitably includes many examples of tales told of kings (e.g. Croesus (eventually a *sophos*), Cyrus. On royal tales in general see Thompson, *Motif-Index*, Index s.v. Royalty; id., *The Folktale*, p. 268). In H.'s Saite history the motif has clearly accreted to Psammetichus I (II, 2, 28, 152), Amasis (II, 172 ff.) and probably to Necho (IV, 42; Lloyd, *JEA* 63(1977), p. 153 ff.). In the present case Psammetichus II does not, like his earlier namesake, grapple with the problem personally (vide nn. II, 2, 28) but he does create the circumstances

for finding the solution and that is quite sufficient to make him another example of the motif. In D.S.'s version the motif operates more simply in that it is the king himself who adjudicates (I, 95).

συνελθόντες ... ὑπεθήκαντο: Element 4. This exchange is paralleled by the large number of episodes based on puzzles, riddles or problems of a similar nature which occur world-wide in folklore and legend (Introduction, p. 101 ff.; Rose, *Handbook of Greek Mythology*, p. 293; Thompson, *Motif-Index*, II, D1810.8.4; III, H530–886; id., *The Folktale*, p. 494).

Element 5. The subject-matter anticipates later Gk. critiques reacting against the exaggerated adulation of the games' moral content and the excellence of their organization (Aly, op. cit., p. 292). We can only conclude that, in H.'s time, observers were already voicing reservations about the conduct of the games and the propriety of making excessive claims for them.

Bibliography: Meyer, *RE* XX, 1752; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 66; Aly, *Volksmärchen*, pp. 72, 292; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 192 ff.; Touny–Wenig, *Der Sport im alten Ägypten*, p. 96; Decker, *CdE* 49(1974), p. 31 ff.

161. Ψάμμιος δὲ ἐξ ἔτεα μῶνον βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου: As a round figure this reign-length is not unjustified (Introduction, p. 192 ff.; Introductory n. II, 99–182; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 65). Psammetichus ascended the throne in the last months of the civil year in which Necho died (Sander-Hansen, *Gottesweib*, App. 4 ~ *BAR* IV, §§985, 988C) and ended his reign on the 23rd day of the first month of Regnal Year 7 (Sander-Hansen, l.c. ~ *BAR* IV, §988E). He, therefore, reigned five full years and an indeterminate number of months. Presumably H.'s figure was obtained by counting these months as the equivalent of a year and adding them to the five full years (cf. n. II, 159, 3). Certain it is, however, that H.'s figure cannot derive directly from an Eg. source since it does not reflect Eg. dating practice.

καὶ στρατευσαμένου ἐς Αἰθιοπίην: This operation was the most spectacular expression of the consistent hostility between the Saïtes and Nubia and seems to have taken the form of a pre-emptive strike on a grand scale which probably took Eg. forces at least as far as the Fourth Cataract (Introduction, pp. 16, 21 ff.; further discussions are: Yoyotte, *RdE* 8(1951), p. 215 ff.; Sauneron–Yoyotte, *VT* 2(1952), p. 131 ff.; Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, p. 30 ff.; Arkell, *A History of the Sudan*², p. 144 ff.; Drioton–Vandier, *L'Égypte*⁴, p. 594 ff.; Bakry, *Oriens Antiquus* 6(1967), p. 225 ff.; Freedy–Redford, *JAOS* 90(1970), p. 475 ff.; Habachi, *Oriens Antiquus* 13(1974), p. 317 ff.; Adams, *Nubia*, p. 268; Spalinger, *Orientalia* 47(1978), p. 21 ff.). However, an economic interest in this area is not to be ignored (Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrier*, p. 49). The chronology continues to cause unnecessary difficulty. The campaign is dated to Regnal Year 3 in the Tanis

and Shellal Stelae (Sauneron-Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 50(1952), p. 173 ff., pl. III–IV; Bakry, op. cit., p. 226), i.e. 593 *not* 591 as even recent literature has it (R.Y. 1 = 595, R.Y. 2 = 594, R.Y. 3 = 593). The older chronology was based on the obsolete date 593 for the beginning of the reign (Lloyd in Trigger *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt: a Social History*, p. 281). H. shows no knowledge of the other known major event in Psammetichus' foreign policy, viz. the expedition to Asia in Regnal Year 4, i.e. 592 (Griffith, *Cat. Dem. Pap. Ryl.*, III, p. 92). This event, which looks more like a triumphal progress than a military campaign, can be seen at the very least as a propaganda exercise designed to broadcast news of the recent dramatic success in Nubia and, at the same time, to express the sense of power and aspiration which that success engendered. However, since the expedition could reasonably have been expected to strengthen Eg. prestige and influence in Asia in the face of the Chaldaean threat and since it was followed no later than 590 by the revolt of Zedekiah of Judah which was certainly encouraged by Egypt (*II Kings* 24, 20; *II Chron* 36, 13; Josephus, *AJ* X, 7, 3; vide infra), we may suspect that Psammetichus saw it as a tentative move towards recovering lost ground in the Levant. It is conceivable that the letters of Adon (n. II, 159, 1) and Aristéas (Pelletier (Ed.), *Lettre d'Aristée*, p. 106 ff.; Sauneron-Yoyotte, *VT* 2(1952), p. 131 ff.; Freedy-Redford, *JAOS* 90(1970), p. 475 ff.), as well as the letter on Lachish Ostrakon III (Pritchard (Ed.), *ANET*³ p. 322), all reflect diplomatic aspects of these relations but, since it is impossible to date any of them precisely, their exact historical context must remain an open question. However, one thing is certain about this expedition: the very fact that it took place at all proves that sometime after Necho's victory of 601–600 (n. II, 159, 1) the Egs. had regained control of part at least of their Asiatic possessions.

Bibliography: Sauneron-Yoyotte, *VT* 1(1951), p. 140 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 70; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 25 ff.; Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, pp. 28, 30, 89; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*⁴, p. 595 ff.; Malamat, *IEJ* 18(1968), p. 151 ff.; Freedy-Redford, *JAOS* 90(1970), p. 479 ff.; id., *VT Supp.* 28(1974), p. 141 ff.; Spalinger, *SAK* 5(1977), p. 233; id., *Orientalia* 47(1978), p. 23 ff.

Αἰθιοπίην: i.e. Nubia (n. II, 29, 4). It seems likely that H.'s interest in this campaign was due in part to the powerful mythical and legendary associations which attached to Ethiopia in Gk. tradition according to which it was a favourite abode of the gods and its inhabitants the epitome of justice and piety, not to speak of longevity and wealth (Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity*, p. 144 ff.). Confidence in this suggestion is strengthened by the fact that H. was demonstrably affected by these notions (nn. II, 137 and 139; III, 18, 21–4); since the Egs. themselves regarded Nubia as a sacred land, it is possible that the Gk. tradition owed something to Eg. sources (Kákosy, *Annales Univ. Budapest: Sect. Hist.* 8(1966), p. 3 ff.).

καὶ μεταυτίκα τελευτήσαντος: Since the Nubian campaign took place in

593 and Psammetichus died in 589, H. is badly wrong. However, it is not necessary to ascribe this error to a Gk. source since the Demotic papyrus of the Persian Period which informs us of Psammetichus' Asiatic adventure of 592 makes a similar mistake when it claims that he died immediately after that expedition (for text vide Griffith, *op. cit.*; in general vide Drioton–Vandier, *op. cit.*, p. 596).

Ἀπρίης: Eg. *Wḥ-ib-r* (Gauthier, *LR* IV, 1, p. 104 ff.; Heb. **הַפְּרִיעַ** *Hōphrā* (Jeremiah 44, 30); Manetho, *Ouaphris* (*FgrH* 609, F.2, p. 50); *LXX*, *Ouaphrē*; Athenaeus, *Aprias* (XIII, 560).

ὁ Ψάμμιος: The adoption stele of Ἀnkhnesneferibrē agrees (*BAR* IV, §988F). Read's attempt to make Apries an adopted son (*AE* 1923, p. 57 ff.) does not convince (de Meulenaere, *op. cit.*, p. 73).

161, 2–171. The reign of Apries (589–570). H. mentions few historical events, the tally amounting to two episodes in Apries's Asiatic campaigns (II, 161, 2), the disastrous expedition against Cyrene and Apries's deposition by Amasis (II, 161, 3–163, 169). Most of the section is taken up with excursuses: the discussion of the *Machimoi* (II, 164–168), the description of the royal tombs at Sais (II, 169, 4–5), a description of the *temenos* of Athene (Neith) at Sais (II, 170) and a discussion of the ritual drama celebrated on the temple's sacred lake and its alleged Gk. derivative (II, 171). The section falls into two parts: Apries's reign as sole Pharaoh (II, 161, 2–4) and the period of conflict with Amasis (II, 162–169, 3). The immediate sources are mainly, if not entirely, Gk. (Introductory n. II, 99–182). This has the usual three corollaries:

1. The subject-matter reflects Gk. interests. The Asiatic campaigns are probably mentioned because of Gk. participation (n. ad loc.). The Cyrene campaign was directed against a Gk. city and led immediately to an anti-Gk. mutiny in the Eg. army. As for the deposition of Apries, not only were Gk. mercenaries involved in attempting to prevent it but the event had a radical effect on Gk. activities in Egypt (Introductory n. II, 172–182). Another source of interest was Apries's *peripeteia*, “reversal of fortune” (n. II, 161, 3). The excursuses are motivated in part by similarities and differences to Gk. institutions (*Machimoi*; the Saite ritual drama), in part by their value as *thōmata* (the Saite tombs and temple).
2. Events are interpreted against a background of Gk. concepts: the fall of Apries is seen in terms of the *hybris/nemesis* syndrome (nn. II, 161, 3; 162, 5).
3. Since the Gk. sources were mainly, if not entirely oral, a folk element is often in evidence. The scatological ingredient at II, 162, 3 falls under that heading (n. ad loc.).

On the basis of available evidence we can point to two omissions: H.

shows no knowledge of the context of Apries's Asiatic wars (nn. ad loc.) and he says nothing of the mercenary revolt at Elephantine (n. II, 161, 4). These deficiencies also may be attributable to the predilections of H.'s Gk. sources. The first was not a particular concern of the Hellenic world and the second was probably too minor an event to make an impression on the tradition to which H. had access. Finally, we can convict H.'s account of three errors of commission: the length of Apries's reign is incorrect, though the mistake is explicable (n. II, 161, 2); the reason given for Apries's attack on Cyrene is inadequate (n. II, 161, 4); and the narrative of the death of Apries is certainly wrong (n. II, 163, 1). The latter is a particularly disturbing deficiency since it presents us with one of the few cases where we can check H. against Eg. sources and he is found sadly wanting.

Bibliography (General): Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I. bis auf Alexander den Grossen*, p. 163 ff.; Pietschmann, *RE* II, 270; Hall, *CAH* III, p. 301 ff.; *PM* Royal Indexes, s.v. Apries; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 73 ff.; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 26 ff., 44, 52; Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, p. 31 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte**, p. 596 ff.; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 193 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I, 358 ff.; Spalinger, *SAK* 5(1977), p. 232 ff.; id., *Orientalia* 47(1978), p. 24 ff.

ὅς μετὰ Ψαμμήτιχον ... τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων: Not an apt comment on Apries' foreign policy (vide infra). Evidence is too slight to pass judgement on his overall success within the frontiers of Egypt but Nebuchadrezzar's invasion in 582 could not have been conducive to *eudaimoniē* at the end of the 580s (vide infra). H.'s emphasis on this point probably owes much to the desire to extract the maximum dramatic impact and moral force from Apries' *peripeteia* (Introductory n. II, 99–182; cf. Introduction, p. 144 ff.).

ἐπ' ἔτα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἄρξας: Since Apries came to the throne at the beginning of the civil year in 589 and was deposed at the latest by the 10th month of the civil year 570, he ruled for 19 full years and an indeterminate period in 570 (n. II, 163, 1; *BAR* IV, §1026 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 74; Introduction, p. 191 ff.). It is, however, certain that he was still alive in 567 (n. II, 163, 1) and, if we regard the reign as running from 589 to 567, the reign-length rises to 23 years. This is very close to the 22 years given by D.S. (I, 68, 1) but still two years short of H.'s 25. A plausible explanation of this discrepancy would be that it emanates from the propagandist tradition purveyed at II, 169, 2 ff., to the effect that Apries survived his defeat for some time. There is no longer anything to be said for accepting the alternative reading "21" given in MSS DRV.

ἐπὶ τε Σιδῶνα ... τῷ Τυρίῳ: A more detailed account appears in D.S. (I, 68, 1) according to whom Apries campaigned with powerful forces, military and naval, against Cyprus and Phoenicia, took Sidon by force, won over the rest of Phoenicia and defeated the Phoenicians and Cypriots in a sea-battle. If Edel is correct in interpreting the word *iw*, "island", in II.3 and 13 of the

Amasis Stele as Cyprus (*GM* 29(1978), p. 19), Apries will have achieved a measure of control over the place. D.S. dates these events explicitly to the period before the campaign against Cyrene. It is important to note that the differences between his account of Apries's reign and that in H. prove that the former had access to independent sources. Neither H. nor D.S. dates the operations precisely but we can narrow down the possibilities considerably. The data are as follows:

1. D.S. enables us to place the attacks on Tyre and Sidon in the same wide-ranging sequence of operations against Phoenicia and Cyprus.
2. The relevant events in Levantine history must also be considered. Here, however, chronology poses problems which have given rise to disturbing divergences of opinion. A careful consideration of the data yields the following reconstruction (see Appendix for the principles on which it is based):
 - c. 590. Zedekiah, king of Judah, rebelled against the Chaldaeans with Eg. encouragement (*II Kings* 24, 20; *II Chron* 36, 13; Josephus, *AJ X*, 7, 3). One passage indicates that Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre and Sidon also participated in this action (*Jeremiah* 27, 1 ff.).
 589. (January.) The Chaldaeans besieged Jerusalem. At the end of that year an unnamed Pharaoh, who must be Apries, marched N. in an attempt to raise the siege but was defeated and driven back to Egypt (*II Kings* 25, 1; *II Chron* 36, 17 ff.; *Jeremiah* 37, 5 ff.; 39, 1; Josephus, *AJ X*, 7, 3–4; probably Lachish Ostrakon III, Pritchard (Ed.), *ANET*³ p. 322).
 587. The Chaldaeans took Jerusalem (*II Kings* 25, 2; *II Chron* 36, 17 ff.; *Jeremiah* 39, 2; Menander of Ephesus, *FgrH* 783, F.7; Josephus, *AJ X*, 8, 2). At this time Nebuchadrezzar's headquarters lay at Riblah (c. 9 miles = 14.48 kms. S.E. of Kadesh) whose geographical position suggests hostilities, actual or imminent, against Phoenicians (*II Kings* 25, 6; *Jeremiah* 39, 6).
 - 587/6. The thirteen-year Chaldaean siege of Tyre began (*Ezekiel* 26 ff., the "eleventh year" being dated from the accession of Zedekiah; Josephus, *Ap I*, 21).
 582. Nebuchadrezzar attacked Coelesyria, took it and subsequently invaded Egypt (*Jeremiah* 43, 10 ff.; 44, 30; 46, 13 ff.; *Ezekiel* 29–30; Josephus, *AJ X*, 9, 7).
 - c. 574. The Chaldaean siege of Tyre ended (*Ezekiel* 26 ff.; Josephus, *Ap I*, 21).

These events permit the following deductions:

- (a) *Tyre and Egypt*. If, as Jeremiah suggests, Tyre was involved in the revolt of Zedekiah, we should expect her relations with Egypt to have been good from 589 to mid-587. From 587 to c. 574 we can be confident that they were. Between c. 574 and 570 the two states must have been enemies.

(b) *Sidon and Egypt*. If we can trust Jeremiah, Sidon, like Tyre, participated in the revolt of Zedekiah. This would surely make her an ally of Egypt at the beginning of Apries' reign. Furthermore, between 589 and c. 574 the operations of Chaldaeans against Jerusalem and Tyre meant that the Chaldaeans had powerful forces threatening lines of communication between Egypt and Sidon throughout that period. Therefore, an Eg. overland expedition against Sidon was virtually impossible at that time. It is, however, theoretically possible that an Eg. force was landed by sea to attack Sidon during those years to threaten the Chaldaeans' communications and force them to raise the siege of Tyre.

Datum 2a creates a strong presumption that Apries' operations against Tyre date c. 574–70. If this view is correct, data 1 and 2b would allow us to date the attack on Sidon to the same period. Irrespective of these arguments, however, since the period c. 574–70 is the only time during the relevant period for which we have evidence of hostility between Tyre and Egypt, that dating must have precedence over entirely speculative attempts to locate the conflict at the very beginning of Apries' reign (with Maspero, against most modern commentators, e.g. de Meulenaere, Gyles, Drioton–Vandier, Freedy–Redford). Whatever the date, however, we are evidently confronted with a large-scale and strategically perceptive Eg. counter-attack by land and sea against Chaldaean domination of the Levant. The capture of both Cyprus and Phoenicia would have given the Egs. two mutually supporting power-bases which would have jeopardized the Chaldaean hegemony throughout Syria/Palestine as well as threatening in flank and rear any hostile force moving S. against Egypt. The Chaldaeans would also have been deprived of the Phoenician and Cypriot fleets and these forces added to the naval power of Egypt. Control of these areas would also have given control of substantial timber and metal resources as well as major trade routes which were all of considerable strategic and economic importance. It is, however, evident from D.S. (l.c.) and H. (II, 182) that, although significant successes were achieved, Cyprus was not taken and that, in consequence, Eg. gains in Phoenicia must have been dangerously far from support in the event of a Chaldaean counter-offensive. As usual in his Saite history H. shows no awareness whatsoever of these strategic dimensions. His reasons for mentioning these events were probably Gk. mercenary participation and the fact that Eg. operations against Phoenicia and Cyprus left a profound impression on the Gks. themselves.

Bibliography: Pietschmann, *RE* II, 270; Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, p. 57 ff.; Hall, *CAH* III, p. 301 ff.; Malamat, *JNES* 9(1950), p. 222 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 75 ff.; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 26 ff.; Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, p. 31 ff.; Drioton–Vandier, *L'Egypte**, p. 596; Malamat, *IEJ* 18(1968), p. 151 ff.; Freedy–Redford, *JAOS* 90(1970), p. 480 ff.; Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre*, p. 317 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I, 358 ff.; Spalinger, *SAK* 5(1977), p. 234 ff.; id., *Orientalia* 47(1978), p. 24 ff.

ἐπεὶ δέ οἱ ἔδεε κακῶς γενέσθαι: Cf. II, 169, 2. The sentiment is entirely Gk. in inspiration. The specific historical phenomenon is viewed by H. not simply in its human context but as a manifestation of divine will and of the cosmic law that excess of *eudaimoniē* must be brought low (Daniëls, *Religieus-historische Studie over Herodotus*, p. 33; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 304 ff.; Introductory n. II, 99–182; n. II, 162, 5). Bischoff comments that it is odd that such a narrative should not include a “warner” (on which motif see Introductory n. II, 99–182). His explanation is that Apries is not sufficiently important in the overall context of the *Histories* to merit one and that, in any case, H. is anxious to deal with the matter *metriōs* (*Der Warner bei Herodot.*, p. 25 ff.).

ἐγένετο ... ἀπηγγήσομαι: For the details see IV, 159; cf. also Hellan., *FgrH* 4, F.55; D.S., I, 68, 2 ff.; Ath., XIII, 560e. Since there is no proof that these texts are independent of H. and there is no reference to the event in Eg. texts, H. may well be the only extant source. De Meulenaere suggests that he obtained his information in Cyrene (op. cit., p. 77 ff.).

ἀποπέμψας γὰρ στράτευμα μέγα ... προσέπταισε: To be dated c. 571–0 B.C. The episode raises two questions: 1. Why did Apries attack Cyrene?; 2. Why was the force composed entirely of *Machimoi*?

1. The following motives have been suggested:

- (a) H. viewed the war as a consequence of bad relations between Cyrene and the native Libyans (IV, 159). When Battus II came to the throne of Cyrene c. 580, he issued an appeal for new immigrants which was so successful that extra land had to be obtained. The consequent encroachment on the territory of the Libyan population inspired the latter to place themselves under Eg. protection and that, in turn, led to the dispatch of the Eg. expedition. Presumably the Libyan appeal was made partly because Egypt was the nearest great power and partly because the Libyans had long enjoyed close links with their eastern neighbour which included settlement in Egypt and even the provision of dynasties of kings (Introduction, p. 16 ff.; n. II, 18). In general see Mazzarino, *Fra Oriente e Occidente*, p. 153 ff.; Schaefer, *RhM* 95(1952), p. 153 ff.; Chamoux, *Cyrène*, p. 134 ff.; Spalinger, *Orientalia* 47(1978), p. 12 ff.
 - (b) Pressure to act may have been brought to bear on Apries by the *Machimoi* (vide infra, 2a).
 - (c) Cyrene was a rich prize from the economic point of view (Schaefer, op. cit., p. 157).
 - (d) Gyles suggests, on the basis of *Jeremiah* 46, 9 and *Ezekiel* 30, 5 ff., that Egypt had an arrangement at this time to draw mercenary troops from Libya and might have felt obliged to assist the Libyans (*Pharaonic Policies*, p. 33).
- (a) does not, by itself, provide an adequate motive for direct and

large-scale military involvement. A desire to assume the protector's mantle is never likely to be the sole precursor of such commitment which is normally, if not always, dictated by self-interest. On the other hand, (b) and (c) give Apries a plausible incentive to discharge his moral obligations. The same would hold true of Gyles' suggestion if we could be more confident of her interpretation of the Ezekiel text but there is a distinct possibility that the Libyans to which it refers are themselves the *Machimoi*.

2. The reason given in H. for the exclusively Eg. composition of the expedition does not convince. Two explanations readily suggest themselves:
 - (a) Since the *Machimoi* were themselves of Libyan extraction (Introduction, l.c.), they may well have maintained ties of relationship and sentiment which made them particularly enthusiastic supporters of Eg. intervention (cf. Schaefer, op. cit., p. 157).
 - (b) The Egs. may have considered that Gk. mercenaries would have been of questionable reliability in an attack on Cyrene (Mazzarino, op. cit., p. 154; Schaefer, op. cit., p. 157).

μεγάλως προσέπταισε: The battle took place at the Spring of Theste in the district of Irasa (H., IV, 159, 5). The severity of the defeat is also emphasized by D.S. (l.c.) but it is questionable whether he has any independent authority here.

Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ταῦτα ... ἐκ τῆς ἰθιῆς: H.'s explanation for the revolt concentrates exclusively on the reaction of the *Machimoi* to the Cyrene disaster. It is evident that this was simply the spark that lit a powder-train long laid. The basic cause was clearly nationalistic resentment at their displacement by Gk. mercenaries in the Eg. military establishment (Introduction, p. 16 ff.; n. II, 30; Spalinger, op. cit., p. 25 ff.). Paradoxically, the only mutiny to which Eg. sources refer during Apries' reign is a *mercenary* revolt at Elephantine (Schäfer, *Klio* 4(1904), p. 152 ff. ~ *BAR* IV, §989 ff.).

Bibliography (Libyan expedition): Pietschmann, *RE* II, 270; Hall, *CAH* III, p. 302; Mazzarino, *Fra Oriente e Occidente*, p. 153 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 77 ff.; Schaefer, *RhM* 95(1952), p. 153 ff.; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, pp. 29 ff., 44 ff.; Chamoux, *Cyrène*, p. 134 ff.; Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, p. 32 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*⁴, p. 597; de Meulenaere, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I, 359; Spalinger, *Orientalia* 47(1978), p. 25 ff.

162-82. The reign of Amasis (570-526) (Introduction, p. 190 ff.). It falls into two periods: the conflict with Apries (II, 162-9, 1) and Amasis' reign as sole Pharaoh (II, 169, 2-182). These, in turn, break down into the following sections: the revolt against Apries (II, 162-3); an excursus on the seven social classes of Egypt (II, 164-8); the defeat, death and burial of Apries (II, 169); an excursus on the royal tombs of Sais, its sacred lake and the origin of the Thesmophoria (II, 170-1); popular traditions on Amasis' character

(II, 172–4); his monuments (II, 175–6); the prosperity of Egypt during his reign and Solon's visit (II, 177); the philhellenic phase of Amasis' career manifested in his treatment of Naucratis (II, 178–9), his assistance in the rebuilding of the temple at Delphi (II, 180), and the friendly relations maintained with Cyrene, Lindus and Samos (II, 181–2); the conquest of Cyprus (II, 182, 2). H. continues the Amasis *logos* into Bk. III with a narrative of his relations with Persia (III, 1–10,1) and a more detailed narrative of Amasis' relations with Polycrates of Samos (III, 40–3). It will be immediately clear from this list that the focus of interest is typically Graeco-centric, the choice of subject matter being determined by the impact of Amasis on the Gk. world, an interest in Gk.-Eg. cultural links and H.'s taste for *thōmata*. The narrative is firmly based in the Saite historical context but the traditions show the usual complex stratification:

1. Eg. customs and attitudes appear in many ways: the punishment meted out to Patarbēmis (II, 162); the use of oracles to solve problems (II, 174); irreverence towards the king (II, 173); the occurrence of an Eg. idiom (II, 177); the mention of a linen corslet (II, 182); and a possible reflection of the importance of coronation in legitimizing Eg. kings (II, 162).
2. Folk elements are clearly in evidence: the scatological ingredient at II, 162 and 172; the wise-ruler motif (II, 172); the reversal-of-fortune (l.c.); the trickster (l.c.); and irreverence towards the king (II, 173). It is not always clear whether such material is Eg. or Gk. in origin.
3. Pro-Amasis propaganda is probably present at II, 169.
4. Anti-Amasis propaganda is a possible ingredient at II, 172–3 and a probable element at II, 174.
5. Gk. attitudes are particularly obvious throughout the Amasis *logos*: the *eudaimoniē/hybris* syndrome (II, 162, 169); the account of the class structure (II, 164–8); Gk. reworking of Eg. tales (II, 173–4); elements of tragic language (II, 173); the bow metaphor at II, 173; treatment of the number "three" as a typical number which is characteristically Herodotean (II, 175); Amasis' sensitivity to portents (II, 175); *prōtos heuretēs* (II, 177); probably the questioning of the reliability of oracles (II, 174). The unusually conspicuous presence of the Gk. dimension in this section is probably the result of the particularly keen interest excited in the Gk. world by Amasis' career.

Since H. is our major source for Amasis' reign and there is lamentably little else, it is often difficult to control his narrative but its heterogeneous antecedents, in particular the fact that it is permeated with Gk. influences, compels us to treat it with caution. Such reservations are confirmed by several demonstrable infelicities: his ignorance of the truth about the deposition of Apries and Amasis' contretemps with the Chaldeans (II, 172); the distortion of Amasis' motives in relation to Naucratis (II, 178) and the misrepresentation of his work on the Naucratis *temene*; ignorance of the pre-Saite foreign occupation of Cyprus (II, 182); and the probable misunderstanding of Amasis' reorganization of Egypt (II, 177).

Bibliography (General): Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I. bis auf Alexander den Grossen*, p. 178 ff.; Pietschmann, *RE* I, 1745 ff.; Griffith, *Cat. Dem. Pap. Ryl.*, III, p. 20 ff.; *PM Royal Indexes*, s.v. Amasis; Hall, *CAH* III, p. 302 ff.; Bilabel, *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* N.F. 1934, p. 129 ff.; Cook, *JHS* 57(1937), p. 227 ff.; Erichsen, *Klio* 34(1942), p. 56 ff.; Pirenne, *Archives d'Histoire du Droit Oriental* 4(1949), p. 9 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 78 ff.; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, pp. 29 ff., 44 ff., 52 ff., 129 ff.; Jelinková-Reymond, *ASAE* 54(1956), p. 251 ff.; Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, Index, s.v.; Wiseman *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings*, pp. 30, 42, 94 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Egypte*⁴, Index, s.v. Amasis, r.; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 195 ff.; de Meulenaere, *JEA* 54(1968), p. 183 ff.; Austin, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc. Supp.* 2(1970); de Meulenaere, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I, 181 ff.; Edel, *GM* 29(1978), p. 13 ff.; Spalinger, *Orientalia* 47(1978), p. 24 ff.; Lloyd in Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt: a Social History*, Index, s.v.

162–9, 1. The period of conflict between Amasis and Apries. For a similar, probably derivative, account cf. D.S., I, 68, 2–6. Hellan.'s version (*FgrH* 4, F. 55) diverges but looks like a garbled embellishment of that in H. (cf. Jacoby, n. ad loc.).

162. Ἀμασιν: Eg. *ʿIḥ-msw* (Gauthier, *LR* IV, 1, p. 113 ff.). Manetho (*FgrH* 609, F. 2–3c, p. 50 ff.) gives a variant Gk. spelling *Amōsis*, presumably reflecting the pronunciation of a different dialect. For Amasis' antecedents vide n. II, 172, 1.

περιέθηκε οἱ κυνέην ... περιτιθέναι: Cf. II, 151, 2. The garland in Hellan.'s version (l.c.) is possibly a confused reminiscence. The soldier's action is firmly rooted in Eg. custom insofar as the rite of crowning played a crucial rôle in Eg. coronation rituals (Vandier, *La Religion Egyptienne*², p. 180 ff.; Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 395 ff.).

καὶ τῷ οὐ πως ἀεκούσιον ... ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην: According to D.S. (l.c.) Amasis actively encouraged the rebels even before he was appointed king but this version is probably no more than an expansion of H.'s narrative.

Πατάρβημις: Hellan. (l.c.) uses the form *Patarmis* and confuses him with Apries. De Meulenaere concedes the word's Eg. appearance but, since it is impossible to discover an Eg. equivalent for the element *-bēmis*, he suggests that H. has recorded a corrupt version of the well-known name Patarbekis (*Pi-di-ḥr-bik*) (*Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 79). This is not inconceivable. At the same time, we have no reason to believe that our knowledge of the Eg. onomastic repertoire is complete and, therefore, must allow for the possibility that the name as recorded in H. is sound.

ὁ Ἀμασις ... ἀπάγειν: Favorinus has a comparable story in which the act in question is clearly stated to be an indication of indifference (Stob., *Florilegium*, 115, 24). This scatological element is a clear reflection of folk tradition which has demonstrably exercised a considerable influence on H.'s narrative of Amasis' reign (so also de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 82; in general vide Introductory n. II, 162–82).

ἐπάρας: “having lifted up his leg” or “having risen up” (*LSJ* p. 604, a); “having risen in the saddle” (Powell, *Lexicon*, p. 127, a). Under the influence of Favorinus, Vollgraff suspected the text (*Mnemosyne* 23(1895), p. 131 ff.). He protested that it would be impossible for Amasis to raise himself from a horse *sine stratoribus sive stapedis* and suggested that the Gk. originally read ἐπάρας τὸ σκέλος and that τὸ σκέλος was then lost and ἐπ’ ἵππου inserted by a later hand. Such ingenuity is surely misplaced. More imaginative readers will easily conceive of methods of accomplishing this insult from horseback without the assistance of grooms or stirrups. The received text should stand and Powell’s rendering should be preferred.

οὐδένα λόγον ... περιθύμως ἔχοντα: Here and at II, 169, 2, H. discloses the moral flaw in Apries which ensures the disaster anticipated in II, 161, 3: he is afflicted with *hybris*, i.e. the propensity to ignore the moral and legal rights of others, human or divine. In the present case Apries denies Patarbemis the right to speak in his own defence (οὐδένα λόγον αὐτῷ δόντα) and, despite his rank, submits him to disgrace and insult (ἀνδρα τὸν δοκιμώτατον ... διακείμενον). At II, 169, 2, Apries’ *eudaimoniē* has led him, like Croesus, to the point where he has forgotten that fortune is dependent on the gods and can be removed as and when they choose. The presence of these ideas provides a particularly clear illustration of the way in which traditions on Pharaonic history, whatever their ultimate source, could be refracted and coloured by Gk. concepts (Introductory n. II, 99–182).

περιταμείν ... τά τε ὦτα καὶ τὴν ῥίνα: For a representation of a criminal who had paid this penalty vide Keimer *ZÄS* 79(1954), p. 140. It was used for a variety of serious offences: misappropriation of state dues and depriving the man bringing them of his boat, Edict of Horemheb, *BAR* III, §51 ff., Pflüger, *JNES* 5(1946), p. 260 ff., Helck, *ZÄS* 80(1955), p. 117 ff., Kruchten, *Le Decret d’Horemheb*, p. 28 ff. (XVIIIth Dyn.); misappropriation of temple property, Nauri Decree, Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, I, p. 45 ff., Griffith, *JEA* 13(1927), p. 202 ff., Edgerton, *JNES* 6(1947), p. 223 ff. (XIXth Dyn.); failure of officials to discharge their duty, Turin Juridical Papyrus, *BAR* IV, §451, de Buck, *JEOL* 4(1936), p. 165 ff., *JEA* 23(1937), p. 156(XXth Dyn.); false-witness, Tomb Robbery Papyrus BM 10052, Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, p. 135 ff. with pl. XXV–XXXV, Wilson, *JNES* 7(1948), p. 138 ff. (XXth Dyn.). D.S. also speaks of the use of this punishment for robbery (I, 60) and adultery by a wife (I, 78). It could be combined with other punishments: a criminal might be banished to Tjel on the E. frontier of the Delta (Edict of Horemheb; cf. Classical references to a place called Rhinocoloura, “Cut-nose Town”, in this area, D.S., I, 60; Str., XVI, 2, 31(C759)) or to Ethiopia (e.g. BM 10052); he might be condemned to serfdom together with his family (e.g. the Nauri Decree); he might be impaled on a stake (Peet, op. cit., p. 27). Other forms of mutilation are also known (vide D.S., I, 78).

163. ὁ Ἀπρίης ... ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους: Here, as in 163, 2, and 169, 1, H. insists on the nature of the conflict as a clash between foreign mercenaries and *Machimoi* in which Amasis was the champion of nationalist interests (Introduction, p. 20 ff.). The only significant Eg. source is the Stele of Regnal Year 4 of Amasis (Edel, *GM* 29(1978), p. 13 ff., a study of revolutionary importance which has rendered obsolete such previous discussions as Daressy, *RT* 22(1900), p. 1 ff., and *BAR* IV, p. 507 ff.; the old dating to Regnal Year 3 is now abandoned: Posener, *RdPh* 21(1947), p. 128 ff.; Jelínková-Reymond, *ASAE* 54(1957), p. 263 ff.; Edel, op. cit., p. 13). The text is badly damaged and, until recently, only intelligible in parts. Edel, however, has succeeded in reading and translating most of it with startling results. Two major events can be isolated:

Regnal Year 1 of Amasis (*not* 3), month 2 of *Šmw* (10th month of the civil year 570). Apries moved S. down the W. side of the Delta and was defeated by Amasis in the vicinity of Andropolis (Probably S.W. of Naucratis, cf. Bernard, *Le Delta Egyptien*, p. 572) (Edel, op. cit., p. 19).

Regnal Year 4 of Amasis (*not* 3), day 8 of the 3rd month of *ḥt* (3rd month of the civil year 567). A force of Asiatics, clearly Chaldeans, attacked Egypt by land and sea accompanied by Apries. The invaders were defeated by Amasis; Apries was killed and subsequently buried with full honours by Amasis. A cuneiform text, which evidently refers to these events, adds the interesting details that Amasis' army included troops who can only be Carian and Ionian mercenaries and also a contingent of Gks. from Cyrenaica (n. II, 181, 1) (Pritchard (Ed.), *ANET*³ p. 308; Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings*, p. 94 ff.; Edel, op. cit., p. 14 ff.).

The precise relationship of the events mentioned in the stele to those described in H. has given rise to considerable discussion. Older scholars, under the influence of the obsolete reading of the first date in the stele as Regnal Year 3, naturally regarded its contents as referring to events *after* the Battle of Momemphis (e.g. *BAR* IV, §996 ff.; Posener, op. cit., p. 128 ff.). However, the redating to Regnal Year 1 raises the distinct possibility that the stele and H. are talking about the same thing. The one serious objection is the contradiction which would then seem to arise between H.'s chronology and that of the stele; H. gives a sequence: rebellion, a battle at Momemphis, Apries a prisoner, death of Apries in captivity (II, 161, 4–163; 169, 1–3); the stele, on the other hand, describes Amasis as being already in the palace at Sais at the very beginning of its narrative (1.2). Under H.'s influence this has led scholars to suspect that the Battle of Momemphis had already taken place and Apries driven out of Sais before the events described in the Eg. text took place. This line of argument is not, however, as cogent as it seems for two reasons:

1. It has long been recognized that the Amasis Stele is a late example of a common genre of pseudo-historical Eg. text in which royal actions are described according to a traditional and formulaic literary schema (e.g. Ranke, *MDAI(K)* 12(1943), p. 135, n.4). A recurrent feature of such

texts is that Pharaoh is presented at the beginning of the narrative as sitting in the palace, receiving information and then taking action to solve the problem in question (Hermann, *Die ägyptische Königsnovelle*, p. 12 ff.). By their very nature, the relationship between historical fact and literary formula in such texts is inevitably an obscure and shifting one. Since the spectacle of Amasis sitting in the palace exemplifies a time-honoured element in such texts, it would be wise not to assume that it reflects an historical situation and to draw from it far-reaching chronological conclusions. Doubts are all the more in order on this score in that, since Amasis was a usurper, he had a particularly powerful propagandist motive for casting his actions into the traditional formulaic genres of historical narrative (cf. n. II, 169, 3).

2. Since H.'s account of the death of Apries is irremediably at variance with the Eg. record and since it is likely that the latter, despite its clear propagandist character, had a much firmer purchase on the truth, we are justified in concluding that H.'s account of the conflict *as a whole* is unreliable.

We have, therefore, two good reasons for not laying too much weight on the discrepancies between H. and the Amasis Stele. That being so, we are justified in adopting the most obvious remedy for the chronological contradictions by arguing that H.'s account is the product of foreshortening, i.e. it has conflated the operations of Regnal Year 1 and Regnal Year 4. Such an error would have been particularly easy if Momemphis had been the decisive defeat since it could then quite naturally have absorbed lesser military operations.

In principle, then, we need have no qualms in looking for the Battle of Momemphis in the Amasis Stele. Does it yield any hint as to when precisely it happened? There is an initial temptation to identify H.'s battle with that of Regnal Year 4 since this equation would fit the chronology of II, 169, 1–3, according to which Apries was no longer at large after Momemphis. We should then need to argue that it is the earlier events which have been lost in H.'s version. However, the case for Regnal Year 1 is rather stronger. Not only does this date suit the run of H.'s narrative admirably, but the battle mentioned by the stele for that year took place in precisely the area in which Momemphis must have lain (n. II, 163, 2). If this view is correct, it is the later events which have dropped out of the Gk. account.

Conclusion: There is no serious obstacle to the view that H. is purveying a garbled version of the events described in the Amasis Stele. We are, therefore, justified in combining the evidence of the two sources to yield the following sequence of events: Apries was defeated at Momemphis in the last months of the civil year 570 but survived for a further three years, possibly as an exile in Babylonia. He then returned to Egypt with a Babylonian force in 567, doubtless as part of a plan of Nebuchadrezzar II to establish him on the Eg. throne as a puppet (Edel, *op. cit.*, p. 17 ff.). In the ensuing Babylonian defeat during the 3rd month of the civil year 567 Apries was killed.

The only other certain reference to the conflict is a cartoon in the Wadi Hammamat which consists of the names of Apries and Amasis written side by side in such a way that both resemble dancing men (Goyon, *Nouvelles Inscriptions Rupestres du Wadi Hammamat*, p. 116 ff., inscription 107). This comment on events indicates that at least one individual found an element of the absurd in the confrontation. There are, in addition, a number of possible allusions in contemporary texts to unrest caused by the conflict: Peftjuaneith describes disturbances in the Abydos Nome (n. II, 177); Psamtjeksonbu speaks of administrative problems in the Saite Nome (Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, p. 94; II, pl. 23) and Psamtjeksineith claims to have ended disorder in the same area; Nakhthorheb mentions the interruption of customs dues from the Mediterranean (Tresson, *Kémi* 4(1931), p. 128 ff.; Posener, *op. cit.*, p. 117 ff.). Since, however, it is impossible to establish the precise context of any of these activities, the question of their relevance to the civil war must remain open.

Bibliography: Daressy, *RT* 22(1900), p. 1 ff.; *BAR* IV, p. 507 ff.; Pietschmann, *RE* I, 1745; Posener, *ASAE* 34(1934), p. 147 ff.; *id.*, *RdPh* 21(1947), p. 128 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 78 ff.; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 161 ff.; Jelinková-Reymond, *ASAE* 54(1956), p. 262 ff.; Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, p. 34 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I, 181 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Egypte**, pp. 597, 679; Edel, *GM* 29(1978), p. 13 ff.

εἶχε δὲ περὶ ἑωυτὸν Κάρας τε καὶ Ἴωνας ἄνδρας ἐπικούρους: It is certain that Apries employed mercenaries of several nationalities; for the inscription of Nesuḥor, which dates to his reign, speaks of *Hꜥw nbw*, a term which can certainly be used of Gks. but which is capable of including Carians *et al.* (Lloyd, *JHS* 95(1975), p. 59); *Sṯtyw*, "Asiatics", which could equally well refer to Jews, Arameans or Phoenicians, all of whom are known to have served in the Eg. army during the L.P. (n. II, 154); and "others" (Schäfer, *Klio* 4(1904), p. 152 ff. ~ *BAR* IV, §994). The question, therefore, arises whether H.'s exclusive mention of Carians and Ionians is correct or whether, as Vandersleyen thought possible (*Les Guerres d'Amosis*, p. 144 ff.), he has omitted troops of other ethnic affinities because of his Graeco-centric interests. There is only one piece of Eg. evidence on the matter, viz. the Amasis Stele (vide supra). As far as we can tell, given its damaged condition, this text uses only one term to refer to Apries' troops, viz. *Hꜥw nbw* (l.3), "Greeks *et al.*". There is no trace of any of the ethnics normally employed of Asiatics, Libyans or Ethiopians, the obvious theoretical possibilities for non-Gk. mercenaries. This situation strongly suggests that the force was mainly, if not exclusively, composed of *Hꜥw nbw*. The exclusive use of a term known to apply to Gks. and capable of application to Carians in the very context where H. speaks exclusively of Carians and Ionians must tip the balance in favour of the essential accuracy of H.'s tradition on this matter.

τρισμυρίους: D.S. gives the same number (I, 68, 4) but it is questionable whether it derives from an independent source.

ἦν δέ οἱ τὰ βασιλῆα ... ἀξιοθέητα: The capital of the XXVIth Dyn. was Sais until the reign of Amasis but subsequently moved to Memphis (nn. II, 28, 1; 154, 3). However, Sais could still function as a royal residence as late as the Ptol. Period (*Urk* II, 79). Some of the ruins surviving on the site until modern times were of massive proportions, though whether they dated, in whole or in part, to the XXVIth Dyn. is an open question (Champollion, *Lettres écrites de l'Égypte et de Nubie*, p. 40 ff. with pl. 1; Habachi, *ASAE* 42(1943), p. 369 ff.). No trace of the palace has ever been identified amongst them but there is no reason to question H.'s judgement not only because it conforms to remains of earlier Eg. palaces (on which see Vandier, *Manuel*, II, 2, p. 1004 ff.) but also because the Palace of Apries at Memphis, our only contemporary example, would certainly have merited such praise (cf. de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 83). It was constructed, mainly of mud brick, on an artificial platform of the same substance c. 70 ft (c. 21 m.) high. The thickness of the walls could vary between 10 and 22 ft. (c. 3–6.6 m.) but was generally 14 ft. (c. 4.2 m.). Halls had stone floors, and doorways and stairways were also made of stone. The roof was supported by stone columns which must have been c. 47 ft. (c. 14.4 m.) high (Petrie, *Memphis II*; Kemp, *MDAI(K)* 33(1977), p. 101 ff.; id., *GM* 29(1978), p. 61).

ἐν τε δὴ Μωμέμφι: Cf. Steph. Byz., s.v. *Μώμεμφις*. D.S. locates the battle near Mareia, i.e. in the vicinity of the later city of Alexandria (I, 68, 5), but also asserts that Momemphis was the site where Psammetichus I defeated his rivals (I, 66, 12). Since the Amasis Stele supports H. (vide infra), we are justified in suspecting that the later tradition is confused. The precise location of Momemphis has been much debated. Wiedemann identified it with Menûf (*Kommentar*, p. 572); Ball tentatively favoured Kom Abu Billu, the later Terenuthis (*Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, p. 18); Kees championed the district of Kharbeta and Kom Hamadah (N.W. of Neguilah); yet others have supported Kom el-Hiṣn (W. of Tanta), the strong favourite (de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 80 ff.; Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 380; Bernand, *Le Delta Égyptien*, p. 963 ff.). The evidence is as follows:

1. The Amasis Stele (vide supra) suggests that the Battle of Momemphis may have taken place not far from Andropolis/Gynaecopolis (probably Kom Firin near Delingat, Introduction, p. 25).
2. The narratives of H. and D.S. (I, 66, 12) indicate a site in the W. Delta.
3. Momemphis was a centre of the cult of Aphrodite (Isis/Hathor) (D.S., I, 97, 8; Str., XVII, 1, 22–3 (C803); *POxy* 1380, 14–15).
4. Str. (l.c.) places Momemphis W. of the Canopic Branch in a N.–S. sequence: Hermopolis (Damanhur), Gynaecopolis/Gynaecopolitan Nome, Momemphis/Momemphite Nome, the Nitriote Nome (presumably the *general* vicinity of Kom Abu Billu).

5. Str. (l.c.) indicates that Momemphis was important enough to be a nome capital in the Graeco-Roman Period.
6. *POxy* 1380 (2nd Century A.D.) yields the following N.-S. sequence for sites of the cult of Isis along the W. margin of the Delta: Hermopolis, Momemphis, Hierasus, Nikiou (located by some at Ibschadi near El-Terieh, by others at Kom Razin, S. of Menûf, Amélineau, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Copte*, p. 277 ff.; Kees, *RE* XVII, 342 ff.), Prosopitis (probably somewhere in the canonical 4th Nome of L.E., n. II, 41, 5).

2, 4 and 6 are in total agreement on a location along the W. margin of the Delta. 4 and 6 further narrow down the search-area, 4 yielding a probable northern limit in the vicinity of Delingat whilst 4 and 6 indicate the general area of Kalawat as the southern limit. 1, 3 and 5 suggest that we should look in the northern section of this area for a large city with a particularly important cult of Ḥathor. Kom el-Hiṣn with its huge tell and renowned cult of Ḥathor (Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 170* ff.; Bonnet, l.c.; *PM* IV, p. 51) is the obvious candidate (*pace* Kees, op. cit., whose objection is based on the very dubious evidence of the distance-figures in the Antonine Itinerary (for which see Ball, op. cit., p. 138)). We conclude, therefore, that the evidence available at present favours identifying Momemphis with Kom el-Hiṣn.

164-8. An excursus on the Eg. class-structure. Since there is no reason to believe that Hec. discussed the subject (Froidefond, *Le Mirage Égyptien*, p. 243, n.62), it would seem that here, as so often in the *Aigyptios logos*, H. was the first of many. The subject became something of a *topos* amongst later writers, exciting considerable interest but little agreement. Plato speaks of six classes: priests, craftsmen, warriors, herdsmen, hunters and farmers (*Ti* 23-4; cf. *Plt* 290D); Isocrates mentions only priests, warriors and craftsmen (*Busiris*, 15 ff.); D.S. lists the same groups as Plato with the exception of the hunters (I, 28, 73-4); cf. also Str. (XVII, 1, 3(C787)), Arist. (*Pol* VII, 10 (1329b) and Dicaearchus (Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, I, F.57). All authorities who discuss the matter at any length mention the priests and the warriors but these are the only classes whose existence is unanimously admitted. This is best explained by the fact that, after the crown, these were the two major land-owning, or at least land-exploiting classes. They were, therefore, the groups with the most clearly defined legal and corporate identity (cf. D.S., I, 73-4, which fits very well with what we know of pre-Ptolemaic conditions: Meyer, *SPAW* 28(1928), p. 495 ff.). In particular, the economic advantages of their status would have ensured that the hereditary principle would have been particularly strongly entrenched amongst them (cf. n. II, 37, 5). In view of this situation, the priests and *Machimoi* were the social groups most likely to impinge upon the attention of foreign observers. Indeed, it seems very probable that Gk. commentators began their study of Eg. society with them and then, with their customary predilection for neat, schematized patterns (cf. Introduction, p. 149 ff.), attempted to apply their

results to the rest. If so, the wide divergences with which we are confronted would be no more than an indication of their severe difficulties in executing this perilous and ill-advised enterprise. Confidence in this hypothesis is increased by the fact that there is no evidence whatsoever at any period in Eg. history of a rigid *de iure* social stratification of the kind described by H.

Why were H. and his successors so interested in this subject? There were probably several reasons:

1. Under the influence of the fallacious *post hoc ergo propter hoc* principle (cf. Introduction, p. 147 ff.), several ancient authors were convinced that the social stratification in some Gk. communities was modelled on that of Egypt: D.S. claimed that this held true of Athens (I, 28, 4 ff.) and there was a persistent tradition that the *Machimoi* were the prototypes of the Spartan *homoioi* (nn. II, 164, 1; 167).
2. Although Gk. observers detected points of similarity with their own institutions, it is clear that the Eg. system also intrigued by its difference. In Gk. city- states flexibility and pluralism of function were the norm in that the same individual might find himself at one time or another acting as a priest, magistrate, general or farmer (cf. Th., II, 40). By comparison, the pervasive functional specialization of Eg. society must have seemed an altogether remarkable phenomenon.
3. Given the instability of Gk. political life, the imagined immutability of Eg. society must have seemed both arresting and enviable (cf. Froidefond, op. cit., p. 169).
4. The social theorizing of such 5th Century thinkers as Phaleas and Hippodamus (DK I, p. 389 ff.) must have been the product of considerable debate. Since it would be very surprising if Eg. practice did not figure at some point in these discussions, it is at least conceivable that H.'s excursus reflects current philosophical preoccupations (cf. Froidefond, op. cit., p. 171). This hypothesis becomes even more attractive when we recall that Hippodamus was closely involved in the foundation of Thurii in which H. was also concerned! The interest of Egypt to later social theorists such as Plato and Isocrates needs no elaboration.

This analysis has important corollaries: although H.'s account starts from observed social phenomena characteristic of Egypt in the Persian Period, an accurate record has almost certainly been impeded by several factors. Over-schematization is certainly in evidence; elements of Spartan institutional practice have probably been injected into the tradition, particularly where the *Machimoi* are concerned; contemporary Gk. social attitudes and philosophical speculation on the problem of social structure have also doubtless played a rôle in distorting the picture. The upshot of all this is that, although H.'s account contains a hard core of historical fact, it cannot be accepted as a completely accurate reflection of an historical situation and should be treated with extreme circumspection (*pace* Meyer, op. cit., p. 521 ff.).

Bibliography (caste problem): Wiedemann, *Le Muséon* 5(1886), p. 79 ff.; Meyer, *SPAW* 28(1928), p. 495 ff.; Kienitz *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, pp. 35 ff., 48 ff.; Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, p. 84 ff.; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 196 ff.; Froidefond, *Le Mirage Egyptien*, pp. 145 ff., 169 ff., 242.

164. ἐπτά γένεα: The restriction to seven has caused much perplexity. Why did H. do it? The answer may lie with the word *genos* itself. Applied to society, it originally meant “clan”, i.e. a social group of *citizens* larger than the nuclear family but smaller than a phratry and defined by ties of kinship and religious obligation. It seems extremely improbable that the word bears all these connotations here but it is reasonable to assume that its use implies at the very least that H., or his source, considered that the groups in question were made up of the equivalent of free men in a Gk. state and possessed a corporate identity well defined by law and/or custom; on the last point H. actually provides some information, stating that the hereditary principle operated for all *genea* (VI, 60; cf. II, 37, 5; 165; 166, 2) and that the *Machimoi* had clearly defined rights and obligations. If this interpretation of *genos* is correct, the fact that H. confined it to no more than seven groups would mean that they were the only groups satisfying these criteria which he, or his source, encountered and that, in turn, would explain why he took no account here of the *cheirōnaktes* and *agoraiοi anthrōpoi* of II, 141, 4, and why other apparently obvious candidates for inclusion, e.g. farmers, fishermen and birdcatchers, were omitted.

οἱ μὲν ἱπῆες: nn. II, 36, 1; 37, 3 ff.; 143.

οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι: Introduction, p. 16; nn. II, 30, 2; 141, 1 ff. In origin the *Machimoi* were mainly, if not entirely, Libyans who had been an important element in the Eg. army since the Ramesside Period. Libyan prisoners of war were settled in camps in the Delta during the reign of Ramesses II and Ramesses III and their numbers were greatly swelled by infiltration, peaceful and otherwise, during subsequent periods of internal weakness. All of these settlers were probably expected to discharge military duties at the behest of the central government. In due course they developed several virtually, and sometimes actually, autonomous principalities governed by rulers called by the title *wr ʿ Mšwš/M*, “Great Chief of the Meshwesh/Ma (a major Libyan tribe)”, one of whom, Sheshonk of Bubastis, founded Egypt’s XXIInd Dyn. c. 945 B.C. Four of these principalities can be identified in the late 8th Century: Busiris, Mendes, Sebennytyus and Pi-Sopdu (E. Delta), all of which survived into the early Saite Period when they were absorbed in Psammetichus I’s expansion. In U.E. there were Libyan power-bases centred at Hermopolis and Herakleopolis. Although the evidence is sparse and defective, it appears probable that the relationship of these kingdoms to the central government as well as the relations between the chiefs and their subjects were essentially those of military feudalism. It is evident from H.’s comments that the subjects long survived the demise of

their Libyan masters. Indeed, the *Machimoi* survived into the Ptol. Period when they were still a force to be reckoned with (Meyer, *Heerwesen der Ptolemäer*, pp. 27, 64; Lesquier, *Les Institutions Militaires*, p. 5 ff.; Launey, *Recherches sur les Armées Hellénistiques*, I, p. 58; Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, III, Index, s.v. *μάχιμοι*).

Bibliography: Kees, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 188(1926), p. 172 ff.; Meyer, *SPAW* 28(1928), p. 521; Hölscher, *Libyer und Ägypter*, p. 59 ff.; Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 35 ff.; Kees, *Ägypten*, p. 238 ff.; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 119* ff.; Yoyotte, *Mélanges Maspero* I, 4 (MIFAO 66(1961)), p. 121 ff.; Drioton-Vandier, *l'Égypte*⁴, p. 530 ff.; Pirenne, *Histoire de la Civilisation de l'Égypte Ancienne*, III, pp. 5, 122 ff.; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 197; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 244 ff., 285, 288, 291, 395 ff.; Gomaà, *Die libyschen Fürstentümer*.

οἱ δὲ βουκόλοι: Eg. *mnw*, *nr*, *hw* (*Wb* II, pp. 74 ff., 279, 1 ff.; III, p. 49, 10). Raising cattle played an extremely important rôle in the Eg. economy from an early period and was a major preoccupation of the owners of great estates throughout the country. Herdsmen must, therefore, have formed a fairly numerous class within Eg. society. They were particularly associated with the marshlands of the Delta where the most suitable grazing areas were to be found and to which cattle were dispatched each year from other parts of the country on a transhumance basis. The herdsmen themselves were generally regarded as wild and uncouth individuals comparable to the fishermen and birdcatchers who frequented the same areas (cf. n. II, 92, 1). The fact that they are sometimes depicted as severely undernourished indicates that their economic position was not always an enviable one (for representations vide Vandier, *Manuel*, V, pp. 13 ff., 195 ff., 250 ff.; Lefebvre, *Petosiris*, III, pl. XII, XXVI–XVII).

Bibliography: Montet, *La Vie Privée*, p. 92 ff.; Hartmann, *L'Agriculture dans l'Ancienne Égypte*, p. 196 ff.; Erman-Ranke, *Ägypten*, p. 523 ff.; Kees *Ägypten*, pp. 9, 18 ff., 65; id., *Ancient Egypt*, p. 86 ff.; Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, p. 316 ff.

οἱ δὲ συβῶται: nn. II, 47, 1; 48, 1; Introductory n. II, 164–8.

οἱ δὲ κάπηλοι: nn. II, 35, 2; 141, 4; Introductory n. II, 164–8.

οἱ δὲ ἐρμηνέες: nn. II, 125, 6; 154; Introductory n. II, 164–8.

οἱ δὲ κυβερνήται: Eg. *hmy*, *iry hmw*, *dpy* (*Wb* III, p. 80, 17 ff.; V, p. 447, 4). Several commentators have suggested that this group includes fishermen (e.g. Bates, *Harvard African Studies* 1(1917), p. 266 ff.; Radcliffe, *Fishing from the Earliest Times*, p. 333) but it would probably have been as odd for a Gk. to use the word *kybernētēs* in this way as it would be for an English-speaker to employ the word “pilot”. It seems more probable, therefore, that H., or his source, regarded the *kybernētai* as an élite group within the boating fraternity which maintained a corporate identity sufficiently well

defined to justify calling it a *genos* (cf. Introductory n. II, 164–8). In view of the hazards to navigation posed by the Nile this would not be in the least remarkable (cf. Lane, *MCME* p. 337).

οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι ... Ἑρμοτύβιες: The origin of the division is debatable. Two suggestions are on offer:

1. At the end of the XVIIIth Dyn. the Eg. army was divided into two corps (*sw*), one stationed in U.E., the other in L.E. (Edict of Horemheb, *Urk* IV, 2147 ~ *BAR* III, §56; Kruchten, *Le Décret d'Horemheb*, p. 80 ff.). H.'s division may go back to this (Wiedemann, *Kommentar*, p. 574).
2. The split may have had ethnic roots, the Kalasyries being Nubian in origin, the Hermotybies Libyan (Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, III, p. 500; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 43(1906), p. 88 ff.; Kees, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 188(1926), p. 180).

The first suggestion has found little favour (cf. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 43(1906), p. 90; Kees, *Ägypten*, p. 238, n.6) and, on the face of it, is open to serious criticism. The N.K. organization was evidently based on the traditional and natural geographical division of the country into U. and L.E. Since H.'s *Machimoi* were almost entirely confined to the Delta, it could be argued that the old geographical criterion would not be relevant. On the other hand, H. is describing the situation in his own time and there is no guarantee that the troop dispositions which he discusses held good before the Persian Period. It is not impossible, therefore, that one of the corps was *originally* stationed in U.E., the other in L.E. (cf. Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, p. 85). There may be a temptation to buttress this suggestion with the argument that a Ptolemaic statue from Tolmeita in Libya shows an allegedly military scribe called Sheriamūn carrying a standard in either hand, one associated with a deity of U.E., the other with a deity of L.E. (so Rowe, *A History of Ancient Cyrenaica*, p. 62 ff.; Stracmans, *La Nouvelle Clio* 5(1953), p. 164 ff.). In fact, there is no reason whatsoever to believe that this scribe was connected with the army. As for the standards, since comparable examples occur on statues of individuals who are certainly not military officials (e.g. BM 947, Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)* (1909), p. 170), it is likely that they are unmilitary in character. The second suggestion certainly receives a measure of support from the etymology of the word Kalasiris (vide infra) but such evidence is quite insufficient for constructing theories of origins; anyone who used the etymology of "hussar" to establish the ultimate ethnic affinities of the members of certain cavalry regiments in the British Army would produce results startlingly at variance with the truth.

We can only conclude that, while it is possible to provide plausible guesses to explain the division of the *Machimoi* into two groups, we simply have not the evidence to determine which, if either, is correct.

Καλασίριες: Cf. H., VII, 89; IX, 32. Eg. *kri/gl-šry*, “young lad, young recruit, soldier”, the first element being the Nubian *kri/gal*, “youth”, the second Eg. *šry*, “young” (Schäfer, *ZÄS* 33(1895), p. 113; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 43(1906), p. 87 ff.; interestingly enough *P. Louvre*, 3268 (74–3 B.C.) replaces *gl/šrw* by *S:tr:tists* (*stratiōtēs*), Winnicki, *Historia* 26(1977), p. 267). The word survived into Coptic both as a personal name (Heuser, *Die Personennamen der Kopten*, p. 14, etymology incorrect) and as a common noun meaning “strong man, giant” (Crum, *CD* p. 813, b). It appears in Gk. as a personal name and as the word for a special kind of garment which was possibly named after the soldiers themselves (n. II, 81, 1). The partly Nubian etymology suggested to Spiegelberg that the Kalasiries were originally Nubian troops, who were certainly employed in some numbers at most periods (op. cit.; cf. also Kees, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 188(1926), p. 180), but such arguments should be treated with extreme reserve. The earliest reference to them occurs in the XXth Dyn. but subsequently they appear both in Demotic and Gk. texts (Struve, *Griffith Studies*, p. 370; Jelínková-Reymond, *BIFAO* 55(1955), pp. 36 ff., 38 ff.; Winnicki, op. cit., p. 257 ff.). H.’s discussion is the only detailed account which we possess in any language and, at first glance, creates a very different impression from Eg. sources which do not present them as a numerous class but either as officers of high social status in charge of troops of various kinds (Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, Col. 12, l. 11; 16, l. 17) or as police officials (Winnicki, op. cit., p. 260 ff.) in contexts which suggest that their number or competence was relatively restricted. However, the divergence is more apparent than real. II, 168 makes it quite clear that under normal circumstances most of the Kalasiries lived civilian lives on their land-allotments and only a small proportion at any one time would have discharged military or paramilitary functions.

Ἑρμοτύβιες: Cf. H., VII, 89; IX, 32; Aristagoras of Miletus (*FgrH* 608, F.1, stating that they were also called *Labareis*, “men of the baris, boatmen” (?), cf. Möller, *ZÄS* 56(1920), p. 78); Steph. Byz., s.v. The etymology has been much discussed. Suggestions are: *rmṯ-ḥtrw*, “horsemen” (Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 43(1906), p. 89 ff.; he did not believe that this name reflected their character in the 5th Century B.C. but that it was a survival from an earlier stage in the evolution of the Eg. army); *rmṯ-dḅ*, “men of the spear” (Möller, op. cit., p. 76 ff.); *rmṯ-dwḥ*, “men of the papyrus (-land)” (Struve, op. cit., p. 369 ff.); Grapow accepted that the first element is *rmṯ*, “men”, but was at a loss to explain the rest (*RE* VIII, 905). Spiegelberg’s opinion can be rejected on phonetic grounds (Möller, op. cit., p. 78; Struve, op. cit., p. 369) but the others are philologically unobjectionable. However, unlike the Kalasiries, the Hermotybies have never been certainly identified in Eg. texts but Struve (op. cit.) has made a good, if inconclusive, case for connecting them with the “Shepherds of *Pr dwḥ*” who figure in the “Contest for the Benefice of Amūn” in the Petubastis Cycle (on which vide Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, p. 13 ff.).

κατὰ γὰρ δὴ νομοὺς Αἴγυπτος ἅπασα διαραίρηται: Nomes (Eg. *sp't* (*Wb* IV, p. 97, 4 ff.), *tš* (op. cit., V, p. 236, 12)), roughly equivalent to English counties, were the basic element in Eg. provincial administration through most of Eg. history down to and including the Graeco-Roman Period. Their number and boundaries varied from one period to another. Graeco-Roman lists give forty-two, twenty in L.E. and twenty-two in U.E., and it is their numbering which is followed in Egyptological literature. However, it is evident that this scheme is a canonical or traditional one and does not reflect contemporary practice. H. mentions only eighteen, all but one being in the Delta, and, of these, seven do not occur in any later writer (Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, p. 16). D.S. and Str. mention thirty-six (op. cit., pp. 49, 60), Plin. and Ptol. forty-seven (op. cit., p. 120 ff.). In view of these divergences and the defective nature of the evidence from other sources it is often difficult and sometimes impossible to identify the precise location of all the nomes at any given period.

Bibliography: Gauthier, *MIE* 25(1935), p. 1 ff.; Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*; Montet, *DG* I, p. 23 ff.; Helck-Otto, *Kleines Wörterbuch*², p. 108 ff.; Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*; Helck, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, II, 385 ff.

165. Ἑρμοτυβίων μὲν οἶδε εἰσὶ νομοί: Note that all the following nomes can safely be located in the western or central Delta. The Hermotybies, therefore, held a solid block of settlements in the part of Egypt which was by tradition most closely associated with Libya (n. II, 18, 2), the area from which the *Machimoi* almost certainly derived (n. II, 164, 2).

Βουσιρίτης: This nome will be equivalent in whole or in part to the canonical 9th Nome of L.E. in the central Delta (n. II, 59, 1).

Σαΐτης: This nome will be equivalent in whole or in part to the canonical 5th Nome of L.E. in N.W. Delta (n. II, 28, 1).

Χεμμίτης: This nome is not mentioned in any other source. Since it evidently derived its name from the Island of Chemmis near Buto (n. II, 156, 1), we can locate it with complete confidence in the canonical 6th Nome of L.E. (N.W. Delta). It is, however impossible to say to what extent the two corresponded.

Bibliography: Gauthier, *DG* I, 11; IV, 173; id., *MIE* 25(1935), Index, s.v.; Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, pp. 16, 122; Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, p. 164 ff.

Παπηρίτης: This nome is not mentioned in any other source. It probably corresponds in whole or in part to the 7th Nome of L.E. in the N.W. Delta (n. II, 59, 3: cf., however, Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, p. 156 ff.; Ray, *GM* 45(1981), p. 58 ff.).

νήσος ἡ Προσωπίτις καλεομένη: This nome probably corresponded in whole or in part to the 4th Nome of L.E. in the W. Delta (n. II, 41, 5: Gauthier, *MIE* 25(1935), s.v.; Helck, op. cit., p. 158 ff.).

Ναθὼ τὸ ἥμισυ: Eg. possibly *Nsy-ti-hwt* (Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 146* ff.); Copt. **ΝΑΘΩ**; Ass. *Na-at-hu-u* (Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material*, p. 31); cf. *Naithu* in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, p. 162) and *Naθω* in a 3rd Century B.C. Gk. itinerary (*PSI* V, 543). The location has been much debated. The evidence is as follows:

1. The other nomes ascribed by H. to the Hermotybies can be located in the western and central Delta. This creates a strong presumption, though it does not prove, that Natho lay in the same area.
2. Coptic/Arabic *scalae* and lists of the bishops of Egypt give the equivalences: Leontopolis = Natho = Sahragt (Amélineau, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Copte*, p. 269). Leontopolis is generally held to be identical with Kôm (Tell) el-Moqdam, S. of Mit Ghamr in the central Delta (Gardiner, op. cit., II, p. 147* ff.). On the debit side it should be remembered that, since these Coptic sources are not entirely trustworthy, their equivalents may be only approximate.
3. Ptol. (IV, 5, 52) mentions a nome called *Neout* or *Nesog* between the Busirite and Bubastite Branches. He next mentions the Tanite Nome and then the Pharbaithe.
4. The list of rebel Eg. dynasts described on the Rassam Cylinder places a Pishanḥuru, king of *Na-at-hu-u* between the rulers of Tanis and Saft el-Henneh and an Unamanu, king of *Na-at-hu-u*, between those of Tanis and Sebennytyus (Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria & Babylonia*, II, §770; Leahy, *GM* 62(1983), p. 37 ff.).

4 proves that there were two places called Nātho as H. himself implies by his phrase *Ναθὼ τὸ ἥμισυ*. 2 allows us to locate one of them at or near Tell el-Moqdam. This would fit the second of those mentioned on the Rassam Cylinder and also the data of 1 and 3. Since this location fits perfectly the data of H. (1), whereas the E. Delta location of the other Natho does not, we can, with considerable confidence, ascribe H.'s *Ναθὼ τὸ ἥμισυ* to the territory of the canonical 11th Nome of L.E., though its precise boundaries are impossible to define. The other Natho may have lain at Tell el-Yahûdîyeh in the S.E. Delta (cf. Gardiner, op. cit., II, p. 146* ff.).

Bibliography: Amélineau, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Copte*, pp. 269, 385 ff., 409; Gauthier, *DG* I, pp. 90, 129 ff.; III, p. 76; V, p. 63; Clédat, *BIFAO* 22(1923), p. 167; Gauthier, *MIE* 25(1935), Index, s.v.; Kees, *RE* XVI, 1803 ff.; Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, pp. 16, 123; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 146* ff.; Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, p. 177 ff.

ἐκκαίδεκα μυριάδες: Cf. II, 30; D.S., I, 67, 3. This figure and that for the Kalasiries (II, 166, 2) have sometimes been considered too high (e.g. Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, III, p. 500) but a maximum total of 410,000 for the *Machimoi* is not incompatible with such evidence as exists:

1. *Population.* D.S. states (I, 31, 7–8) that the population of Egypt in his time was not less than 3 millions but that it had been c. 7 millions. This statement fits the range of population-figures available for the 19th Century as a whole, i.e. 2.4 millions in 1800, 9.7 millions in 1897 (Walek-Czernecki, *BIE* 23(1941), p. 40 ff.). If we assume that *Machimoi* households held an average of 4 persons (an average regarded by Lane as plausible for the provinces in the 19th Century, *MCME* p. 23), the *Machimoi* population as a whole would have amounted to c. 1,640,000. If we accept H.'s figures (vide infra), the *Machimoi* held over $\frac{1}{2}$ the agricultural land of Egypt; if we then assume that land not held by *Machimoi* showed the same population density, we gain a total figure for the population of Egypt of c. 3,000,000, i.e. a total which is compatible with the information of D.S. and figures for the 19th Century Egypt (Lloyd in Trigger *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt: a Social History*, p. 299 ff.).
2. *Availability of Agricultural Land.* A Ptol. text states that the total agricultural area of Egypt was c. 24,808 sq. kms. (Chassinat, *Edfou*, XIV, pl. DLXXII). At present the total is 35,000 sq. kms. of which 24,982 sq. kms. are used. The same text gives the used area for the Delta as a little over 18,000 sq. kms., a figure which is very close to the modern total of c. 18,192 sq. kms. If the *Machimoi* were each given a fief of 12 *arourae* (n. II, 168, 1), they would have held a total of 13,562 sq. kms., i.e. over $\frac{2}{3}$ of the land available in the Delta and over $\frac{1}{2}$ the cultivable land of Egypt (figures after Schlott, *Die Ausmaße Ägyptens*, p. 160 ff.). At first sight these two figures seem startlingly high but two points give food for thought: first, at the beginning of the XXth Dyn. the temples controlled no less than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the cultivable land (Černý, *CAH*³ II, 2, p. 626) and the *Machimoi* had had ample opportunity to improve on that situation; secondly, the traditional number of Delta nomes was twenty and H. indicates that *Machimoi* were a considerable element in no less than sixteen (the Thmouite and Mendesian being identical, n. II, 166, 1), not to speak of their presence further S. (on which vide n. II, 166, 1).

On the whole, then, it would be ill-advised to dismiss H.'s figures out of hand. Indeed, there is a distinct possibility that they are not very wide of the mark (cf. in general Cavaignac, *Revue Egyptologique* N.S. 1(1919), p. 192 ff., though not all his figures are acceptable).

καὶ τούτων βαναυσίης ... ἐς τὸ μάχιστον: Eg. sources give no indication of the extent to which the *Machimoi* devoted themselves to martial activities. It is conceivable that the plots which they were given were worked by serfs comparable to Spartan helots so that the *Machimoi* were free for military service. Alternatively, it may be suggested, on the basis of Saite and Ptolemaic parallels, that some of them leased out their allotments in order to devote themselves to their professional duties (cf. Hughes, *Saite Demotic*

Land Leases, p. 3 ff.; Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, I, p. 284 ff.). On the other hand, many of the *Machimoi*, while maintaining a measure of military competence, may have functioned for much of their time as tenant-farmers, only rarely being required to fulfil their commitments to the army (cf. Pirenne, *Histoire de la Civilisation de l'Egypte Ancienne*, III, p. 122 ff.). As so often, uncertainty reigns. However, despite the lack of Eg. evidence, H.'s comment should be treated with extreme reserve. It looks suspiciously like a description of the Spartan *homoioi* and, in view of the demonstrable influence of comparisons with Sparta on accounts of the *Machimoi*, we must allow for the distinct possibility that it is the product of contamination and reflects only faintly the situation in Egypt (Introductory n. II, 164-8 ; n. II, 167).

166. Καλασιρίων δὲ οἶδε ἄλλοι νομοὶ εἰσι: The nomes fall into two groups: the first in the list was situated in U.E., the rest, as far as they can be located, in the S. and E. Delta (cf. n. II, 165).

Θηβαῖος: Since all other identifiable nomes in this series lay in the Delta, some scholars have attempted to place the *Thēbaïos nomos* in the same area (e.g. Cavaignac, *Revue Egyptologique* N.S. 1(1919), p. 193; Schwartz, *BIFAO* 49(1950), p. 71). This notion can safely be discounted. In the first place, H. clearly uses the phrase *Thēbaïos nomos* of the 4th Nome of U.E. at II, 42, 1 (ὁ Θηβαϊκὸς νομός of II, 4 and 91 is the Thebaid, vide nn. ad loc.); secondly, the Libyan ancestors of the *Machimoi* are known to have had important centres in U.E. at an earlier period (n. II, 164, 2); thirdly, *Machimoi* can be identified at Thebes in the Ptol. Period (Winnicki, *Historia* 26(1977), p. 261). The reason for the Theban settlement is uncertain but it may well have originated c. 656 B.C. as an attempt by Psammetichus I to consolidate royal power in the area (cf. Introduction, p. 16; Meyer, *SPAW* 28(1928), p. 525; Winnicki, l.c.).

Βουβαστίτης: In whole or in part the canonical 18th Nome of L.E. (E. Delta) (n. II, 59, 1; Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, p. 195 ff.).

Ἀφθίτης: Not certainly located. Steph. Byz. (s.v.) mentions a town called *Aphthaia* as being in Egypt but gives no further information. On the basis of the earlier 7th Century list of Eg. dioceses in George of Cyprus a town called *Aphthaion* can be identified E. of Pelusium (Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, p. 177). This is clearly identical with the *Aphthaion* placed in the same area by Hierocles (op. cit., p. 165). If *Aphthaion* and *Aphthitēs* are cognate, as Gauthier thought (*MIE* 25(1935), p. 12 ff.), the Aphthite Nome would have been roughly equivalent to the canonical 14th Nome of L.E. This location can be supported by the fact that the 14th Nome was immediately adjacent to the Tanite Nome which was certainly Kalasirian (vide infra). The identification of the Aphthite Nome with the *T*;

hwt of *P. Spiegelberg*, 4, 11, despite its popularity, is speculative and fails to provide a satisfactory prototype for the Gk. name (against Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, p. 18, n. 11; Gauthier, *DG* IV, p. 45; VI, p. 29; Schwartz, op. cit., p. 70. It seems likely that *T*ḥ *hwt* is equivalent to <Nṣy> ṯḥ *hwt*, “Natho”, on which see n. II, 165). Helck’s identification: Aphthites = *Saphthites = Saft el-Henneh in the 20th Nome of L.E. (op. cit., pp. 30, 198) is sheer guesswork.

Bibliography: Pietschmann, *RE* I, 2722, 2796; Spiegelberg, *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis*, pp. 18, 52, 56; Gauthier, *DG* IV, p. 45; VI, p. 29; id., *MIE* 25(1935), Index, s.v.; Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, pp. 17, 165, 177; Schwartz, *BIFAO* 49(1950), p. 70; Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, pp. 30, 198.

Τανίτης: In whole or in part the canonical 19th Nome of L.E. (N.E. Delta). The ancient capital was Imet (Nebesheh) but, at least as early as the Assyrian Period, it was replaced by Tanis (Eg. *ḏꜥnt*; Ass. *Sa’nu*; Heb. **יַנִּי**, *Ṣō’an*; Copt. **ⲭⲁⲛⲁⲛⲉ**, **ⲭⲁⲛⲙ**, **ⲭⲁⲛⲓ**; mod. *Ṣan el-Ḥagar*, “Tanis of the Stones”).

Bibliography: Amélineau, *La Géographie de l’Egypte à l’Epoque Copte*, p. 413 ff.; Gauthier, *DG* VI, p. 111 ff.; id., *MIE* 25(1935), p. 13 ff.; *PM* IV, p. 13 ff.; Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, Index, s.v. Tanis; Kees, *RE* IVA, 2175 ff.; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 199* ff.; v. Beckerath, *Tanis und Theben*; Montet, *DG* I, p. 192 ff.; Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, p. 195 ff.

Μενδήσιος: Essentially the canonical 16th Nome of L.E. (N.E. Delta) (n. II, 42, 2; cf. Helck, op. cit., p. 191 ff.). It was identical with the Thmouite Nome which H. mistakenly regards as a separate entity (vide infra).

Σεβεννύτης: Mainly, if not entirely, the canonical 12th Nome of L.E. (N. Central Delta). The capital was Sebennytyus (Eg. *ṯb-nṯrt*; Ass. *Zabnuti* (Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material*, p. 36); Copt. **ⲭⲉⲙⲛⲟϥⲧ**; mod. Samannūd).

Bibliography: Amélineau, *La Géographie de l’Egypte à l’Epoque Copte*, p. 411; Gauthier, *DG* IV, pp. 113, 136, 141; VI, pp. 74, 104; id., *MIE* 25(1935), Index, s.v.; Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, Index, s.v.; Kees, *RE* IIA, 958 ff.; Gardiner, *AEO* II, pp. 195*, 324; Montet, *DG* I, p. 103 ff.; Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, p. 179 ff.

Ἀθριβίτης: Essentially the canonical 10th Nome of L.E. (S. central Delta). The capital was Athribis (Eg. *Ḥwt ṯḥry-ib*, *Ḥwt ḥry-ib*; Ass. *Ḥath(a)rība* (Ranke, op. cit., p. 28); Copt. **Ⲭⲣⲉⲃⲓ**, **ⲁⲩⲣⲏⲃⲉ** etc.; mod. Atrib).

Bibliography: Amélineau, *La Géographie de l’Egypte à l’Epoque Copte*, p. 66 ff.; Pietschmann, *RE* II, 2070 ff.; Gauthier, *DG* IV, p. 112; V, p. 200 ff.; id., *MIE* 25(1935), Index, s.v.; *PM* IV, p. 65 ff.; Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, Index, s.v.; Montet, *DG* I, p. 119 ff.; Vernus, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I, p. 519 ff.; id., *Athribis*; Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, p. 175 ff.

Φαρβαιθίτης: In whole or part the canonical 11th Nome of L.E. (central Delta). The capital was Pharbaethus (Eg. *Pr-Hr-mrty*; Copt. **ΦΑΡΒΑΙΤ**; mod. Horbêt).

Bibliography: Amélineau, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Copte*, p. 330 ff.; Gauthier, *DG* I, p. 17; II, p. 33; IV, p. 34; V, pp. 151, 226; id., *MIE* 25(1935), Index, s.v.; Kees, *RE* XIX, 1817 ff.; *PM* IV, p. 26 ff.; Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, Index, s.v.; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 133*; Montet, *DG* I, p. 134; Helck, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, II, 401; id., *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, p. 197.

Θμουίτης: The name derives from that of the city of Thmouis immediately S. of Mendes in the N.E. Delta (Copt. **ΘΜΟΥΙ**; name preserved in the first element of modern place-name Tema el-Amdîd). It was one of the major cities of Egypt in the Graeco-Roman and Coptic Periods (Ammianus Marcellinus, XXII, 16) and had certainly replaced Mendes as the capital of the 16th Nome by 24–1 B.C. (Kees, *RE* VIA, 295; cf. Ptol., IV, 5, 51). H. is, therefore, quite mistaken in speaking of the Mendesian and Thmouite Nomes as separate areas. He, or his source, had heard the two expressions and naturally, but wrongly, assumed that they referred to different locations. It is tempting to argue that the very fact that the term “Thmouite Nome” was current in H.’s time proves that Thmouis was already the nome capital but, while this *may* be true, it is not the only feasible interpretation. The phrase certainly demonstrates that Thmouis had already begun to overshadow Mendes to such an extent that the term “Thmouite Nome” seemed a natural toponym but it would still be possible for Mendes to remain the nome capital under these circumstances.

Bibliography: Amélineau, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Copte*, p. 500; Gauthier, *DG* VI, p. 136; id., *MIE* 25(1935), Index, s.v.; Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, Index, s.v. Thmuis; *PM* IV, p. 35 ff.; Kees, *RE* VIA, 294 ff.; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 151* ff.; Montet, *DG* I, p. 144 ff.; Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, p. 191 ff.

***Ονουφίτης:** This nome has never been certainly identified. The evidence is as follows:

1. The identifiable Delta nomes in the list under discussion are located in the central and eastern Delta.
2. Plin. (*HN* V, 49), Ptol. (IV, 5, 22), Hierocles (*Synec* 725), George of Cyprus (722) and a Coptic list of bishops (Amélineau, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Copte*, p. 250) enable us to locate an Onuphite Nome and a town called **ΠΑΝΟΥΓ** in Coptic and *Onuphis*/*Ōnōphis* in Gk. at Mehallat Menûf, N. of Tanta, i.e. in the western half of the Delta.
3. Another town called **ΠΑΝΟΥΓ**/*Ōnōphis* can be located at Menûf in the S.W. Delta (Amélineau, op. cit., p. 251).
4. At Tell Tebillah, N. of Mendes in the N.E. Delta, lay a town called *R-nfr* (Gauthier, *DG* III, p. 121; Montet, *DG* I, p. 140 ff.; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 133*). This name would have been pronounced **Ro-noufi*, which,

if it lost the initial *r*, would have given a good approximation to the Gk. *Onuphis*.

Let us begin with 2. If we accept that Onuphis was Mehallat Menûf, then the Onuphite Nome must have been part of the canonical 4th, 5th or 9th Nomes of L.E. or compounded of elements of all three. This, in turn, would make a Kalasirian salient protruding S.W. from the Sebennytyc Nome into Hermotybian territory. This view would make it an anomaly amongst the Kalasirian Delta nomes (1) but there is no reason why the border between Hermotybian and Kalasirian territories should have been geometrically regular and the Onuphite Nome would, in any case, probably have been contiguous with Kalasirian holdings in the E. Delta. As for 3, Menûf is surely too far west to be a serious contender and is, in any case, located in the Prosopite (4th) Nome which certainly belonged to the Hermotybies (n. II, 165). *R-nfr* (4) has considerable attractions. In the first place, it is in precisely the area where we should expect Onuphis to be (1); secondly, the canonical 17th Nome lay in this vicinity and is available for allocation to the Kalasiries; thirdly, the identification fits well from a phonetic point of view. Alluring though it is, however, this identification founders on the crucial objection that an Onuphis and an Onuphite Nome are clearly discernible between the Sebennytyc and Saite Nomes and it would be stretching coincidence too far to postulate duplicates at, and around, Tell Tebillah. We conclude, therefore, that H.'s Onuphite Nome was probably identical with the Onuphite Nome mentioned by Plin. and Ptol. which seems to have lain in an area whose northern limits were bounded by the Saite, Sebennytyc and Busirite Nomes.

Bibliography: Amélineau, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'Époque Copte*, p. 250 ff.; Gauthier, *DG* III, p. 121; Daressy, *ASAE* 30(1930), p. 78 ff.; Lefebvre, *RdE* 1(1933), p. 91; Gauthier, *MIE* 25(1935), Index, s.v.; Kees, *RE* XVIII, 529 ff.; *PM* IV, p. 39; Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, Index, s.v. Onuphis; Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 52(1953), p. 180, n. 3; Montet, *DG* I, p. 140 ff.; Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, p. 161 ff.

Ἀνύτιος: Cf. II, 137, 1. Steph. Byz. (s.v.) mentions a city called Anytis which was presumably the capital. It is generally regarded as being identical with Khininši of the Annals of Assurbanipal (Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria & Babylonia*, II, §771; Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material*, p. 29) and the 𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤏 *Hânēs* of Isaiah (30, 4). This, in turn, is identified with the Herakleopolis Parva of Classical sources (on which see Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, Index, s.v.). The precise location of this city is controversial. The data are as follows:

1. Since most of the known Kalasirian nomes lay in the E. Delta, it is probable, though not certain, that the same held true for the Anytian Nome.
2. The Assyrian Annals (l.c.) mention Khininši after Athribis but before Sebennytyus, Mendes and Busiris, i.e. it must have lain in the N.E. Delta.

3. Josephus mentions Herakleopolis Parva between Tanis and Pelusium (*BJ* IV, 10, 5). The data of Ptol. (IV, 5, 53), the Antonine Itinerary (Ball, op. cit., p. 141), the Peutingerian Map (op. cit., p. 154) and Steph. Byz. (s.v.) are entirely compatible with this.
4. Hierocles mentions a place called Panithysos along with Sethraites and Hephaestus between Pelusium and Tanis (Ball, op. cit., p. 165).

This evidence can only mean that Herakleopolis Parva/Anytis lay in the vicinity of the present S.E. corner of L. Menzalah. Since Herakleopolis Parva is stated by Ptol. (l.c.) to be the capital of the Sethroite Nome, several scholars have succumbed to the temptation of identifying it with Sethroe (Tell Belīm?) but nome-capitals can change from one period to another and the data of Hierocles prove that there were other possibilities. In particular, they provide in Panithysos an alternative with attractive phonetic similarities. However, whatever doubts subsist on the precise location of the capital, the nome itself can only have been located at, or near, the S.E. corner of L. Menzalah and that raises three possibilities: it consisted in part, or whole, of the canonical 14th Nome—its precise extent would depend on where one placed the Aphthite Nome (vide n. supra); it was partly, or entirely, the canonical 19th Nome; it consisted of portions of both.

Bibliography: Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh*, p. 3 ff.; Pietschmann, *RE* I, 2653 ff.; Sourdille, *La Durée*, p. 66 ff.; Gauthier, *DG* III, p. 93 ff.; *MIE* 25(1935), Index, s.v. Anysios; Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, s.v. Anysis; Gardiner, *AEO* II, p. 176*; Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, pp. 30, 191 ff.

Μυεκφορίτης ... αντίον Βουβάστιος πόλιος: H. is the only source for this nome. The etymology is a mystery. Pace Helck (*Die altägyptischen Gaue*, p. 30), the desperate remedy of emending to Myenphorites = Eg. *mw-n-pj-R* is methodologically inadmissible. H.'s topographical information indicates that it lay in the S.E. Delta in the canonical 8th, 10th, 11th, 18th or 20th Nome of L.E. Since we have already found traces of the 10th, 11th and 18th (vide supra), the 8th or 20th Nomes are the most likely possibilities. The description of the nome as *nēsos*, "island", may help in deciding between the two. By no stretch of the imagination could the term apply to the 8th Nome but the 20th is another matter. If we bear in mind that the term *nēsos* need not refer to an island in the Nile but may denote a very substantial area largely, if not completely, bounded by branches of the Nile or even large canals (cf. nn. II, 30, 1; 41, 5), it is not impossible that the *nēsos* in question was formed by the Pelusiatic Branch on the W., the Red Sea Canal to the N. and a large irrigation canal running along the E. margin of the Delta, i.e. precisely the area occupied by most, if not all, of the 20th Nome. However, it must be conceded that our present knowledge of the political geography of the Delta in antiquity is so defective that this line of reasoning can be regarded as no more than an attractive, but quite unproven, possibility.

Bibliography: Gauthier, *DG* I, p. 49; id., *MIE* 25(1935), Index, s.v.; Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers*, pp. 16, 18, 123; Kees, *RE* XVI, 996; Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, pp. 30, 177 ff.

γενόμενοι ... ἀνδρῶν: Vide n. II, 165.

οὐδὲ τούτοισι ... μούνα: Vide n. II, 165.

παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδεκόμενος: Vide Introductory n. II, 164-8; n. II, 164, 2. Winnicki is able to point to prosopographical evidence which clearly reflects this principle (*Historia* 26(1977), p. 261).

167. εἰ μὲν νυν καὶ τοῦτο ... τοὺς χειροτέχνας: How-Wells (*Commentary*, I, p. 250), Waddell (*Herodotus II*, p. 251), Froidefond (*Le Mirage Egyptien*, p. 149) *et al.* consider that, in this section, H. is abandoning his customary diffusionist stance (on which vide Introduction, pp. 147 ff., 149 ff.) and conceding that similar attitudes could develop independently in different areas. That is not intrinsically implausible, particularly when we bear in mind the recurrent groundswell of suspicion in early Gk. thought that mankind is essentially a unity (Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought*, p. 8 ff.). Nevertheless, this interpretation seems highly questionable. The use of μεμαθήκασι at the end of the chapter is surely identical with that at the beginning and must imply the conviction that the Gks. had had a teacher. The problem for H. was to determine whether these social attitudes were yet another item derived from Egypt (καὶ τοῦτο παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι οἱ Ἕλληνες) or whether some other foreign source was responsible. The fact that he mentions many other parallels simply means that he was faced with an unusual embarrassment of choice and was, therefore, unwilling to commit himself.

εἰ μὲν νυν καὶ τοῦτο ... οἱ Ἕλληνες: Two factors above all determined Gk. social values: the attitudes of the independent peasant farmer and the aristocratic ideal. Both were dominated, in a social context, by the principle of *philotimia*, i.e. the desire to be envied with its fierce determination to avoid a negative social valuation (the αἰδῶς οὐκ ἀγαθή of Hes., *Op* 317 ff.), but the context within which this aim was pursued was different for different people. For the farmer it was a matter of maintaining his independence and self-sufficiency by the successful exploitation of his land (cf. Hes., *Op* 298 ff.); for the aristocrat land was also of crucial importance but for him the highest distinction was achieved by winning glory in war, competitive games and the arena of political life (Hom., *II* VI, 208; XXII, 303 ff.; Pi., *O* VI, 9 ff., 74 ff.; *N* III, 70 ff.; IV, 76 ff.; F.214 (Bowra)). For the farmer and aristocrat alike accepting the challenge to strive was the very essence of *aretē*, "moral excellence". The interaction of these attitudes meant that, in all Gk. states of which we know anything, high social status was determined by the possession of land and by the ideals of independence, self-sufficiency, physical courage and the willing acceptance of the challenge of public life (Th., II, 40; X., *Oec* IV, 1-4; VI, 4-8; Arist., *Pol* IV, 4(1290b-1b); 13(1297b); VI, 3-4(1318b); *SEG* 9, 1; D.H., *On Lysias*, 32). Those whose

lives were conducted on this basis were accorded a high status, those who did not a low one. It is self-evident that traders and craftsmen must fall into the second category (cf. X., l.c.; VI, 4–8; Arist., *Pol* III, 4(1277b); 5(1278a); VII, 9(1328b–9a); 12(1331a–b); *SEG* l.c.; Plu., *Per* 4 ff.). The low estimation of the latter was, however, aggravated by a further consideration: the widespread use of slaves in industry and for more arduous manual labour made it easy to assimilate manual workers in general to slaves and there is clear evidence that this is precisely what happened (e.g. Arist., *op. cit.*, I, 13(1260a–b)).

Bibliography: Aymard, *Journal de Psychologie* 41(1948), p. 29 ff.; Murakawa, *Historia* 6(1957), p. 385 ff.; Aymard, *Etudes d'Histoire Ancienne*, p. 316 ff.; Mossé, *The Ancient World at Work*, p. 26 ff.; Burford, *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society*, pp. 25 ff., 153 ff.; Garland, *War in the Ancient World*, p. 82 ff.; Austin–Vidal–Naquet, *Economic and Social History of Ancient Greece*, pp. 11 ff., 44 ff., 107 ff.

Θρήϊκας: Cf. V, 6, 2. The martial predilections of the Thracians were a matter of comment throughout antiquity (e.g. Tac., *Ann* IV, 46–51; Justinian, *Nov* 26a535) and their services as mercenaries and regular troops much prized. This trait had its origin in the fact that, when they invaded the Balkans, they were organized in bands of horse-riding nomads and long retained their devotion to this mode of life. The population which they subdued, on the other hand, enjoyed a higher, more sedentary culture based on agriculture, handicrafts, mining and commerce and these activities were very much left in their hands. Given this situation, the social attitudes ascribed by H. to the Thracians are entirely credible.

Bibliography: Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, p. 111 ff.; Oberhummer, *RE* VIA, 402; Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria*, p. 202 ff.; Dragan, *We, the Thracians and our Multi-millenary History*, I–II; Venedikov, *Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria*.

Σκύθας: The Scythians were, in the main, a race of horse-riding warrior nomads even wilder and more ferocious than the Thracians (H., IV, 1–82, particularly 64–6). Urban settlements there were (IV, 55; 78, 3–79) and in them craftsmen and traders led prosperous and productive lives but the continued validity of traditional nomadic life in Scythia as a whole must have ensured that, even in these settlements, social values were essentially those of a community of warrior nomads.

Bibliography: Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*; Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*; Talbot Rice, *The Scythians*.

Πέρσας: On Persian respect for valour and devotion to the martial arts vide H., I, 136; VII, 181; IX, 107; cf. also X., *Cyr*, *passim*, which, for all its pro-Spartan tendentiousness and novelistic excesses, must reflect a general Gk. impression of Persian character; for a Persian reaction to the Gk. agora vide H., I, 153. The historical factors giving rise to these attitudes are easily

determined. The early Iranians consisted chiefly of pastoral nomads whose ruling stratum, the *airyaman*, comprised priests, chariot-driving nobility, herdsmen and artisans. The nomadic economy would itself ensure that the warriors enjoyed a higher status than the last two groups. The need to maintain control of the territory conquered on the Persian plateau, together with the subsequent demands of the empire, could only confirm this situation. The consistent validity of this ancient aristocratic martial ethos is strikingly demonstrated by such documents as the Decree of Ariaramnes (Kent, *Old Persian*, p. 116), the warrior attributes frequently assigned to the great god Mithra, the recurrent military emphasis in royal iconography, the crucial importance of the nobility in the Persian army (cf., e.g., H., VII, 61 ff.) and their desperate valour in action (e.g. Arr., *Anab* I, 13 ff.; III, 7 ff.).

Bibliography: Gray, *CAH* IV, p. 1 ff.; Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 23 ff., 218, 228 ff., 237 ff.; Ghirshman, *Iran*, p. 73 ff.; Cook, *The Persian Empire*, p. 1 ff.

Λυδοὺς: At first sight improbable candidates for inclusion in view of their reputation for luxurious living (cf. H., I, 71; VII, 27–9) but it should be remembered that in its heyday Lydian social and political life was dominated by a martially orientated land-owning aristocracy which fought on horse-back and exercised itself in riding and charioteering. It was no doubt this class which was largely responsible for the conquests of Gyges and his successors (cf. H., I, 6 ff.). H.'s comment demonstrates that, despite the immense importance of Lydian commerce and industrial production, the values of this aristocracy exercised a powerful influence on the hierarchy of social prestige down to the 5th Century.

Bibliography: Gelzer, *RhM* 35(1880), p. 519 ff.; Radet, *La Lydie*, pp. 50 ff., 88 ff.; Keil, *RE* XIII, 2169 ff.; Goetze, *Kleinasien*, p. 208.

καὶ μάλιστα Λακεδαιμόνιοι: H. is referring to the élite of the Spartan state, the *Spartiatatai* or *homoioi*, the only full citizens, who were required to devote themselves exclusively to soldiering. Each was provided with an allotment or *klēros* which was worked by serfs and from which he maintained his family and paid the dues to his mess. This *klēros* was not, originally at any rate, the property of the *Spartiatatēs* but simply a fief of which he enjoyed the usufruct. Membership of this élite was hereditary but successful completion of the rigorous Spartan *agōgē*, “training, education”, was also essential. It was possible to lose this privileged position by cowardice in battle or by failure to maintain one's contribution to the mess. (X., *Lac*; Arist., *Pol* II, vi, 1(1269a) ff.; id., F.532–45(Rose); Plu., *Lyc*; *FgrH* 581–98). H.'s comment proves that the similarity between the *Spartiatatai* and the *Machimoi* was noted as early as the 5th Century. This, combined with the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy and the Gk. passion for heurematography, led to the conviction that the Spartan system was modelled on its Eg. counterpart (e.g. Isocrates, *Busiris*, 6–8; Plu., *Lyc* IV, 5). Whether that step had actually been

taken in, or by, H.'s time is uncertain but the wording of the passage *μεμαθήκασιν δ' ὦν ... Λακεδαιμόνιοι* justifies the strong suspicion that it was already in the wind. However, it should be borne in mind when evaluating H.'s tradition on the *Machimoi* that, since the similarity had, at the very least, been noted, there is a distinct possibility that H.'s account of the Eg. institution has been contaminated by assimilation to its Spartan parallel. It should also be remembered that observations made by Gks. on the *Machimoi* may have been arbitrarily applied to other elements in Eg. society (n. II, 164, 1).

Bibliography: Wade-Gery, *CAH* III, p. 558 ff.; Huxley, *Early Sparta*; Michell, *Sparta*; Forrest, *A History of Sparta 950-192 B.C.*; Froidefond, *Le Mirage Egyptien*, pp. 145 ff., 172, 242 ff.; Jeffery, *Archaic Greece*, p. 111 ff.; Austin-Vidal-Naquet, *Economic & Social History of Ancient Greece*, p. 78 ff. These general works provide a key to the copious literature on the subject.

ἥκιστα δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄνονται τοὺς χειροτέχνας: Our evidence on pre-Roman Corinth is quite insufficient to establish the details of the socio-economic system which gave rise to this enlightened attitude. Corinth's commercial prosperity may well have played a part (cf. Th., I, 13, 2-5; Str., VIII, 6, 20 (C378)) but the most we can say with confidence is that the unusually long list of craftsmen and technical inventions associated with the city demonstrates that it was uniquely conducive to success in industrial activities.

Bibliography: Büchschütz, *Preisschr. der Jablonowskischen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig* 14(1869), Index, s.v. Corinth; Blümner, *ib.*, 15(1869), p. 72 ff.; Will, *Korinthiaka*, p. 326 ff.; Hasebroek, *Trade and Politics in Ancient Greece*, p. 53 ff.

168. γέρεα ... πάρεξ τῶν ἱρέων: Cf. II, 141, 1. For priestly *gereā* vide nn. II, 37, 2-5. H. seems unaware that *gereā* could be awarded by the crown to government officials as payment for their services, a practice necessitated by the fact that the Egs. did not operate a money economy. In the case of the higher echelons of the civil service payment could take the form of an estate of which the official enjoyed the usufruct as long as he exercised the function to which the estate was bound. This custom was common throughout Eg. history (cf. Kees, *Ägypten*, p. 42 ff.; Théodoridès in Harris (Ed.), *The Legacy of Egypt*, p. 296 ff.; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, p. 115 ff.; *id.*, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, pp. 56 ff., 249 ff.; Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases*, p. 1 ff.) but emerges particularly clearly in the M.K. contracts of Ḥapydjefa (Sethe, *Lesestücke*, p. 92 ff. ~ *BAR* I, p. 258 ff.; Kemp, *Cambridge History of Africa*, I, p. 693) and the Ptol. Period (Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, I, pp. 289, 420 ff.). H.'s omission probably reflects sheer ignorance but it should be remembered that, since government officials could also be *Machimoi* and/or priests (Lloyd, *JEA* 68(1982), p. 169), the relationship between a civil office and *geras* might have been far from obvious.

ἄρουραι ἐξαίρετοι δυνάδεκα ἐκάστῳ: i.e. c. 8 acres = 3.2 hectares (vide infra). The 12 *arourae* figure is compatible with that for L.P. temple donations which are almost always in multiples of 3 or 5 *arourae* (Meeks in Lipinski (Ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, II, p. 646) but such allotments are considerably larger than the *klēroi* of most Ptol. *Machimoi* who normally received 5, 7, or 8 *arourae* (cf. Rostovtzeff, op. cit., II, p. 720; Crawford, *Kerkeosiris*, p. 69 ff.). Since 5 *arourae* seems to have been adequate for the maintenance of a family (Crawford, op. cit., p. 122), H.'s *Machimoi* clearly enjoyed an enviable economic position. On the other hand, the allotments are considerably smaller than those awarded to Graeco-Macedonian military colonists at Kerkeosiris during the Ptol. Period when *klēroi* of 30, 40 and 50 *arourae* were common (Crawford, op. cit., p. 60 ff.). However, H.'s comment excites suspicion at one point: since disparities in rank must have been reflected by disparities in payment, it seems extremely unlikely that all *Machimoi* received allotments of the same dimensions. Indeed, in a similar context we find the Ptolemies allotting *klēroi* to Greek and Macedonian troops settled in Egypt on a sliding scale which started with estates of over 100 *arourae* (Rostovtzeff, op. cit., I, p. 285 ff.; Crawford, op. cit., p. 69 ff.). In all probability, H.'s comments relate only to the ordinary soldier and we are confronted with yet another example of over-schematization (cf. Introduction, p. 149 ff.).

ἀτελείες: There is no direct evidence on this point but comparative material inspires confidence:

1. Exemption from taxation is a privilege often exemplified in Eg. texts (Kees, op. cit., pp. 43, 106, 235).
2. Ptol. military cleruchs were subjected to lighter taxation and fewer imposts than other landowners (Rostovtzeff, op. cit., I, pp. 286, 354).

ἡ δὲ ἄρουρα ... τῷ Σαμίῳ: The calculation of the size of this *aroura* (Eg. *stwt*, Wb IV, p. 356, 1–7) depends on the interpretation of the sentence ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος πῆχυς ... τῷ Σαμίῳ. The Egs. used at least two cubits: the royal cubit of 0.523 m. and short cubit of c. 0.448 m. (Helck–Otto, *Kleines Wörterbuch*², p. 218). Since the royal cubit was the standard for official purposes, we can be confident that this is the one in question. Therefore, H.'s *aroura* was 52.3 m. on a side, i.e. 2735.29 sq. m. (cf. Hultsch, op. cit., p. 356). Interestingly enough, an *aroura* of the same size was used for measuring large quantities of land as early as the IIIrd Dyn. (Moret, *RT* 29(1907), p. 69; Hartmann, *L'Agriculture dans l'Ancienne Egypte*, p. 93; Crawford, op. cit., p. 12, n. 2).

τάδε δὲ ἐν περιτροπῇ ... οὗτοί: Administrative requirements would have ensured that estates held in fief from the crown in payment for public service would change tenants rather more frequently than holdings in private possession. Nevertheless, it is highly questionable whether any Eg. ruler

would have countenanced such a merry-go-round as H. implies. The superficial similarity to the relationship between the Spartan *homoioi* and their *klēroi* (Michell, *Sparta*, p. 205 ff.) could not have been lost on H. (cf. Introductory n. II, 164-168) but we cannot explain H.'s comment by postulating contamination since there seems to be no trace of any system of exploitation ἐν περιτροπῇ at Sparta. Probably exaggeration, half-knowledge and over-schematization have equally conspired to produce a distorted picture.

Καλασιρίων χίλιοι ... τὸν βασιλέα: Here also there was a Spartan parallel which H. must have had in his mind, viz. the 300 *hippeis*, "knights", who constituted a specially selected élite corps and served for one year only (Michell, op. cit., pp. 128, 249; Jones, *Sparta*, p. 63).

τούτοισι ὧν ... ἐδίδοτο: In the absence of a money system ration-payments were an essential feature of the Eg. economy at all periods (Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 231 ff.; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, p. 455 ff.). In this case metrology presents problems: there are at least three possible standards for converting the mina: the Aeginetan at 623.7 g., the Attic at 436.6 g., and the Babylonian at 505 g. Given his audience and the political and economic conditions under which he wrote, H. was probably using the Attic. If so, the bodyguard received 2.18 k. (c. 4¾ lbs.) of bread and 873.2 g. (c. 2 lbs) of meat per day. The *arystēr* only occurs here as a unit of measurement. According to Hesychius (s.v.) it was identical with the *kotylē*, i.e. a little less than 0.28 litres (c. ½ pint). If this is correct, the guard received a little less than 1.12 litres (c. 2 pints) of wine per day. These rations compare well with those of a soldier of the Tudor period in England who received a daily allowance of 1½ lbs. (680 g.) of bread, 2 lbs. (c. 910 g.) of meat, ½ lb. (c. 225 g.) of butter, 1 lb. (450 g.) of cheese and ¾ of a gallon (c. 3 litres) of beer (cf. Janssen, op. cit., p. 463, n. 51); the bread allowance was also significantly more generous than the norm for Gk. and Roman contexts (Foxhall-Forbes, *Chiron* 12(1982), p. 86 ff.). It should further be borne in mind that the guard's rations were probably his *minimal* reward. Irregular *ex-gratia* payments of foodstuffs and other commodities were not infrequently made to the workmen at Deir el-Medina during the New Kingdom (Janssen, op. cit., p. 488 ff.) and it would be very surprising if Pharaoh's bodyguard failed to benefit from similar largesse. In fact, the foodstuffs mentioned are in themselves an indication that these troops enjoyed a privileged status comparable to that of the Praetorian Guard of the Roman Emperors; for wine and meat were luxury items which were generally replaced in the diet of most Egs. by beer and fish (op. cit., pp. 350 ff., 488 ff.) and their inclusion can only be interpreted as a signal mark of royal favour or circumspection!

169. Ἐπεῖτε δὲ συνιόντες ... συνέβαλον: Vide nn. II, 163.

καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο ... ἐσώθησαν: The reason given for Apries' defeat should be treated with caution; it could well have been inspired by Gk. national pride as a face-saving explanation for the discomfiture of Carian and Ionian mercenaries.

Ἀπρίῳ δὲ λέγεται ... ἐδόκεε: n. II, 161, 3.

καὶ δὴ τότε ... ἐν τῇσι πατρώησι ταφῇσι: This account of Apries' captivity is refuted by the Amasis Stele (nn. II, 163). We are, therefore, faced with the problem of explaining its origin. The key point is that the reputation of Amasis clearly benefits from the Herodotean version. We are told that, although Amasis had deposed Apries, he treated him well and kept him in the palace; he did not kill him, even under pressure, but handed him over to the Egs. who executed him themselves. All this suggests that H.'s tradition is drawing upon pro-Amasis propaganda. The source and date of this material cannot be established with certainty. The fact that pro-Amasis propaganda is exemplified, if in a slightly different form, on the Amasis Stele (n. II, 163, 1), raises the distinct possibility that H.'s narrative had its origin in contemporary Eg. sources. At the same time, its similarity to H.'s account of the captivity and death of Psammetichus III (III, 14–5) indicates that, even if the tradition had its beginnings early in the reign of Amasis, it may have been contaminated by elements from subsequent historical tradition. It seems not improbable that confusion created by the currency of this propagandist tradition lies behind H.'s erroneous information on the reign-length of Apries (n. II, 161, 2).

βασιλήια: n. II, 163, 1.

καὶ ἔπειτα ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇσι πατρώησι ταφῇσι: The Amasis Stele agrees that Apries was buried with full honours but makes Amasis responsible (l. 18). Despite their previous hostility this version makes complete sense since one of the traditional duties of an Eg. king was to ensure the proper burial of his predecessor and the stele as a whole demonstrates clearly that Amasis was intent at the beginning of his reign on projecting himself as an embodiment of the Pharaonic ideal. The fact that he was a usurper made his policy a particularly pressing necessity (cf. Stadelmann, *MDAI(K)* 27(1971), p. 112).

αἱ δὲ εἰσι ... ἡ θήκη ἐστὶ: The remains of Sais are in such a lamentable state that no sure trace of these features has ever been identified; Champollion's attempt to locate them in the ruins which he saw in the early 19th Century (*Lettres écrites de l'Égypte et de Nubie*, p. 40 ff. with pl.1) was largely guesswork. Nevertheless, H.'s description excites no qualms since it fits perfectly a type of royal tomb characteristic of the L.P. which is exemplified at Tanis in the XXIst Dyn. and Medinet Habu from the

XXIIIrd Dyn. until the end of the Saite Period, i.e. the temple-court tomb. This had three main features: it was located in a temple courtyard near a divine temple; the mortuary chapel was built immediately over and contiguous with the burial chamber; and the cult-chapel was preceded by a portico (Stadelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 111 ff.). Such tombs differed radically from those of the New Kingdom in the Valley of the Kings opposite Thebes and probably arose during the Tanite Period (XXIst Dyn.) through the interaction of two main factors (*op. cit.*, p. 120 ff.):

1. Bitter experience had shown that the security of tombs excavated in such places as the Valley of the Kings could not be guaranteed. Placing them in a temple-complex offered obvious advantages in this respect.
2. The L.P. had seen a great upsurge in devotion to local divinities and with it the desire of individuals to place themselves under the protection of such deities.

Once established, this type of tomb probably became canonical for royal burials until the end of the XXXth Dynasty (cf. Lloyd in Trigger *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt: a Social History*, p. 321).

αἱ δὲ εἰσι ... ἀριστερῆς χειρός: The precise meaning of this sentence is not immediately evident. The data are as follows:

1. The basic meaning of *megaron* is “large room, hall” (cf. *LSJ* p. 1088, a). In the case of Gk. temples H. used it either of the roofed section of a temple beyond the peristyle or, by synecdoche, of the temple building as a whole (Powell, *Lexicon*, p. 216, b).
2. H. uses *megaron* twice elsewhere of Eg. temples: at II, 141, 3, where the context proves that it denotes a hall; the precise meaning at II, 143, 2, is not, at first sight, clear.
3. At II, 169, 5, the tombs are stated to lie ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Since at II, 148 and 153 *aule* clearly denotes a colonnaded court (nn. ad loc.), it is reasonable to assume that the same holds true here.
4. The standard design for an Eg. temple consists of three elements: courtyard, often surrounded by a colonnade, hypostyle hall and sanctuary. These features may be duplicated but the basic tripartite division usually remains unpaired (cf. Vandier, *Manuel*, II, 2, *passim*).
5. At Tanis the royal necropolis lay in the S.W. corner of the sacred enclosure between the temple of Amon-rē and the *temenos* wall (Montet, *La Nécropole Royale de Tanis*, I-III). At Medinet Habu the tombs of the quasi-royal High Priestesses of Amon-rē lay in the S. half of the temple forecourt along the S. side of the road running from the pavilion of Ramesses III to the first pylon of the main temple (Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu*, V, *Post Ramessid Remains*, p. 17 ff.).

Data 1, 2 and 4, taken together, can only mean that, when H. uses *megaron* of Eg. temples, he means the roofed area beyond the courtyards including the hypostyle hall/s, the sanctuary and ancillary chambers; for,

although, given the design of Gk. temples, it is a natural semantic development to extend the word to cover the main building as a whole, it would not be so natural to do the same with Eg. temples in which courts formed an integral part of the structure. As far as the tombs are concerned this means one of two things: either they stood in the court preceding the hypostyle hall/s or they lay outside the temple building proper between that building and the *temenos* wall. Datum 3 proves that the first alternative is correct. We should, therefore, translate: “They stand in the temple of Athene immediately adjacent to the hall”. This means, in turn, that the Saite practice was at variance in at least one respect with observances at Tanis and Thebes (datum 5).

ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης: i.e. in the sacred precinct of Neith (Vide n. II, 28, 1). It contained the *Hwt Nt*, “Mansion of Neith”, the chief cult centre of Sais and one of the most important shrines in Egypt. No remains have been certainly identified but it is possible, though undemonstrable, that Champollion’s attempt was not wide of the mark (l.c.). The shrine seems to have formed part of an elaborate complex which embraced the cults of many other deities including Osiris (n. II, 170), Horus, Sobk, Atūm, Amūn, Bastet, Isis, Nekhbet, Wadjet and Hathor.

Bibliography: Champollion, *Lettres écrites de l’Égypte et de Nubie*, p. 40 ff.; Mallet, *Le Culte de Neit à Saïs*; Jéquier, *BIFAO* 6(1908), p. 25 ff.; Posener, *La Première Domination Perse en Égypte*, p. 1 ff.; Habachi, *ASAE* 42(1943), p. 369 ff.; Matthiae Scandone, *Oriens Antiquus* 6(1967), p. 145 ff.; Schott, *RdE* 19(1967), p. 99 ff.; Kaplony, *Festschrift zum 150 Jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, p. 119 ff.; El-Sayed, *BIFAO* 74(1974), p. 29 ff.; id., *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses Divinités*; id., *BIFAO* 76(1976), p. 91 ff.; Pernigotti, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 28(1978), p. 223 ff.

ἔθαψαν δὲ Σαῖται ... ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ: Cf. H., III, 10; Str., XVII, 1, 18(C802). Eg. texts prove that there were cults of Psammetichus I and II, Necho and Amasis associated with Sais. There can be no doubt that they included the mortuary cults connected with this necropolis (cf. El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses Divinités*, p. 135).

καὶ γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος ... ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ: The fact that Amasis associated his tomb with those of his predecessors provides another example of the determination to gloss over his usurpation (Stadelmann, op. cit., p. 112) but why was it constructed “at some distance from the hall”? This position may reflect a disinclination to go too far in asserting kinship with earlier rulers or—and perhaps more likely—it may have been caused by purely technical considerations. It is clear that Amasis’ propaganda was not entirely successful. In *P. Rylands*, IX whereas Psammetichus I, Psammetichus II and Apries always receive the title of Pharaoh, Amasis is several times denied this honour and the same distaste is probably reflected in the circumstance that Amasis’ name was erased from some of his monuments (n. II, 172).

παστὰς λιθίνη μεγάλη: Strictly *pastas* means “a columned portico” but here H. is clearly using it by synecdoche to describe a building in which such a portico formed a major feature (Lloyd, *JEA* 56(1970), p. 83, n. 3; Stadelmann, op. cit., pp. 112., 115).

στύλοις τε ... μεμμημένοισι: Palm-leaf capitals were used in Egypt from the Old Kingdom onwards both in mortuary and divine temples (Stevenson Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*², Index, s.v. columns). It is out of the question that their function was entirely decorative (cf. the implications of the Edfu text on the consecration of the temple, Blackman-Fairman, *JEA* 32(1946), p. 75 ff.). The palm was closely associated with protective goddesses, particularly in funerary contexts (n. II, 138, 3; Gamer-Wallert, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, IV, 659), and its use in mortuary temples may well, in part, reflect that connection. There is, however, probably another and complementary dimension: royal tombs were regarded from an early period as embodying or containing the *primaeval* hill from which all life emerged at the creation of the world, a connection which made of such tombs a ritual guarantee of the king's continued life (Introductory n. II, 124–35; n. II, 124, 4; Spencer, *Death in Ancient Egypt*, p. 150 ff.). It is highly likely that the palm-columns in the Saite royal mortuary chapels were intended to represent the life-giving power of the hill itself, i.e. they performed the standard symbolic rôle of plant-form columns in Eg. temples in general (cf. Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, p. 153 ff.).

καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δαπάνῃ: Presumably painted relief sculpture. The walls of the chambers in the parallel shrines at Medinet Habu are covered with reliefs depicting the mortuary cult (Stadelmann, op. cit., p. 115).

ἔσω δὲ ἐν τῇ παστάδι ... ἔστηκε: The phrase *διὰ θυρώματα* is ambiguous; it might mean “a double door”, i.e. two doors side-by-side, or “two doors”, i.e. one behind the other. The structure of the chapels at Medinet Habu suggests that the second is the correct interpretation here (Stadelmann, op. cit., p. 114 ff.).

ἐν δὲ τοῖσι θυρώμασι ἡ θήκη ἐστί: This description is probably inaccurate but it is hardly likely that any Gk. was permitted to see for himself. The parallels at Medinet Habu and Tanis suggest that the burial vault lay beneath the floor of the inner chamber and that the installation above ground level functioned as a mortuary chapel (cf. Stadelmann, l.c.). At Medinet Habu the burial vaults were constructed immediately below the tomb chapels and were in every case very small. The earliest was barrel-vaulted and built entirely of stone; the others were largely, if not completely, of the same material. In one case the walls were covered with inscriptions. Nitocris and Ἀnkhnesneferibrē were certainly buried in granite sarcophagi and the same probably held true for the occupants of the other tombs

(Hölscher, *op. cit.*, p. 17 ff.). In the tomb of Psusennes I at Tanis, the finest of the series, the subterranean part consisted of a rectangular structure of limestone containing two vaults which were lined with granite blocks and which the excavator found un plundered. The king was interred in a solid silver coffin which was deposited in two stone sarcophagi, the outer one of red granite, the inner of black, and the head of the mummy was covered with a gold mask (Montet, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 19 ff., 111 ff.). The mortuary equipment was made up of objects of gold and silver, perishable material being almost entirely avoided.

170–1. An excursus on the cult of Osiris in the temple of Neith at Saïs. This was inspired by three things:

1. At II, 169, 4–5, H. has been discussing the tombs of the Saite kings in this very shrine.
2. H. found Neith's sacred lake similar to a pool at Delos (II, 170, 2).
3. The Saite *mystēria* were considered to be the origin of the Gk. Thesmophoria (II, 171).

170. εἰςὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ ... τοῖχου: H.'s reticence in such matters usually arises from epistemological misgivings but, in the present instance, it is dictated by the conviction that the rites in question are *mystēria* (n. II, 3, 2). The context proves that the god is Osiris, the major god of Saïs where he took second place only to Neith. The connection between Neith and Osiris is extremely ancient and has its origins in Neith's rôle as a protective goddess and Osiris' function as an embodiment of the deceased in death and resurrection. In the *PT* she functions alongside Isis, Nephthys and Selket as his guardian; subsequently she figures as protector of the dead in general. Through her association with weaving this rôle was particularly connected in later times with the bandages used in embalming so that she becomes "the Mistress of *Pr nfr* (i.e. 'House of Rejuvenation', Donohue, *JEA* 64(1978), p. 143 ff.)". The relationship was also expressed by the identification of Neith with the celestial cow which functioned in myth as an agent of birth or rebirth. In this capacity she figured, like Nut, as the mother of Osiris (nn. II, 62; 129–32; Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 515 ff.; Matthiae Scandone, *Oriens Antiquus* 6(1967), p. 6 ff.; El-Sayed, *La Déesse Neith de Saïs*, p. 117 ff.). H. is certainly correct in ascribing to him a cult within the sacred enclosure of Neith; for we hear frequently of a shrine there called the *Hwt-bity*, "The Mansion of the King of Lower Egypt", where he was worshipped as Osiris, "Lord of *Hwt-bity*" (*hnty Hwt-bity*), Osiris, "who dwells in Saïs" (*hr-ib Sꜥw*), Osiris, "Lord of Busiris in Saïs" (*nb Ddw m Sꜥw*), and Osiris, "Lord of Saïs" (*nb Sꜥw*) (Chassinat, *Le Mystère*, p. 486; Matthiae Scandone, *op. cit.*, p. 160 ff.; El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses Divinités*, p. 199 ff.) The shrine also embraced the cults of Neith, Horus, Selket, Amün, Isis, Hathor and Sobk (Posener, *La Première Domination Perse en Egypte*, p. 13; El-Sayed, l.c.). It was the *Hwt-bity* which contained the *Hwt Hmꜥg*, "The Mansion of

Hmꜣg (sc. Osiris)", the site of a ritual tomb of Osiris (Chassinat, op. cit., p. 482; El-Sayed, op. cit., pp. 208, 211). Here lay the *ḥdt šꜣt*, "the secret chest", enclosing the ritual body of Osiris which was generally known as the *ḥꜣt ꜣt*, "the Great Corpse", or *tꜣ ḥꜣt ꜣt nty m Sꜣw Nt*, "the Great Corpse which is in Sais of Neith" (Chassinat, op. cit., p. 79 ff.; cf. Athenagoras, *Leg pro Christ*, 24). There are no identifiable remains of the *Hwt-bity* but it is probable that it showed points of similarity to the Osireion of Seti I at Abydos. A good guess would be that its centre-piece consisted of the *Hwt Hmꜣg* in the form of an Osiris-grave (cf. n. II, 142, 4) and that this was complemented by ancillary installations such as the *Pr ṯhn*, "the House of Splendour (?)", in which the so-called mysteries of Osiris took place (n. II, 171). The fact that a tomb of Osiris was located in the *Hwt-bity* leaves no room for doubt that it is the latter to which H.'s *taphai* refers. It should be noted that the *Ὀσίριδος ἄσυλον* of Str. (XVII, 1, 23(C803)) could not possibly have had anything to do with this building since his geographical information is incompatible with a Saite location. It should also be observed that there were many more shrines in this complex than H. indicates (Matthiae Scandone, op. cit., p. 164); that of Osiris has been singled out because its cult had a Gk. counterpart (n. II, 171).

Bibliography: Mallet, *Le Culte de Neit à Saïs*; Jéquier, *BIFAO* 6(1908), p. 25 ff.; Posener, *La Première Domination Perse en Egypte*, p. 1 ff.; Habachi, *ASAE* 42(1943), p. 369 ff.; Bonnet, *RÄRG* p. 512 ff.; Leclant-de Meulenaere, *Kēmi* 14(1957), p. 34 ff.; Montet, *DG* I, p. 80 ff.; Chassinat, *Le Mystère*, pp. 75, 79 ff.; Matthiae Scandone, *Oriens Antiquus* 6(1967), p. 145 ff.; Schott, *RdE* 19(1967), p. 99 ff.; Bakry, *MDAI(K)* 23(1968), p. 69 ff.; Kaplony, *Festschrift zum 150 Jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, p. 119 ff.; El-Sayed, *BIFAO* 74(1974), p. 29 ff.; id., *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses Divinités*; id., *BIFAO* 76(1976), p. 91 ff.; Pernigotti, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 28(1978), p. 223 ff.

καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει ... λίθινοι: For the significance of obelisks vide n. II, 111, 4. A text on the naophorous statue of Neferibrēnefer of the reign of Psammetichus II mentions the execution of work on granite obelisks for the temples of Neith which may well be amongst those mentioned by H. (El-Sayed, *BIFAO* 74(1974), p. 41 ff.). The inscriptions also speak of the raising of a related symbol, a *bnbn* or "pyramidion", in the *Hwt-bity* (op. cit., p. 40 ff.).

λίμνη τέ ἐστι ... κεκοσμημένη: The sacred lake was a standard feature of Eg. temples and was believed to emanate from the primaeval ocean or Nun. It could, therefore, function as the ritual equivalent of Nun and, since it partook of Nun's purifying and life-giving force, it also served as a major source of the water needed for cult purposes (Fairman, *BJRL* 37(1)(1954), p. 177 ff.). Such lakes fall into two main types: crescent-shaped and rectangular. The first is illustrated by the lake in the temple enclosure of Mut at Karnak (Baedeker, *Egypt*⁷, plan between pp. 264 and 265; Fazzini, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, IV, 249; n. II, 138, 1; in general Kruchten, *Ann. Inst. Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 22(1978), p. 23 ff.). Good

examples of the second occur in the temple of Amon-rē at Karnak, at Medinet Habu and at Dendera. In all three cases the basins are faced with stone and equipped with flights of steps (Baedeker, *op. cit.*, pp. 278, 329; Chassinat, *Dendera*, I, pl. XI, XV–XVI, XXV–XXVI) and that at Dendera was also surrounded by a broad stone border which could aptly be described by the word *krēpis* used by H. of the Saite lake. At Sais no certain traces of the sacred lake have ever been identified. The modern swamp to the N. of Sa el-Hagar *may* indicate its site (cf. Habachi, *ASAE* 42(1963), p. 373 ff.) but the water-table comes to the surface far too often in the Delta at present for this to be any more than an alluring possibility. Linguistic evidence, however, confirms the close relationship between the lake and the temple of Osiris; in l. 2 of the inscription on the statuette of Nesnephthys we read: “May you receive the *snw*-loaves at the door of the sanctuary of Hēmag (sc. Osiris), on the shore of this lake (š *pn*), eternally, in the sanctuary of Neith” (Leclant-de Meulenaere, *Kēmi* 14(1957), p. 36). We can be confident that it was identical with the *šš/šš n Nb Šw*, “nest/nest of the Lord of Sais (sc. Osiris)” which is mentioned in association with the *Hwt-bity* (Mallet, *Le Culte de Neit à Saïs*, p. 35; Davies, *Hibis*, III, pl. 33).

καὶ ἐργασμένη εὖ κύκλω ... ἡ τροχοειδὴς καλεομένη: The phrase καὶ ἐργασμένη εὖ κύκλω has caused trouble. Rawlinson translated: “In form it is circular” (*Herodotus*, II, p. 255), and Godley: “... wrought to a complete circle” (*Herodotus*, I, p. 483). These translations are obviously inspired by two considerations:

1. κύκλω often means “in a circle” or “ring” (*LSJ* p. 1007, a).
2. H. compared the Saite lake with the Delian *trochoeidēs* which was oval in shape (vide infra).

Such renderings will not do for several reasons:

1. κύκλω is frequently used of motion around an object but implies nothing about the shape of the object any more than the use of *περί* does. At I, 181, the towers about which the *anabasis* ran were almost entirely square (cf. King, *A History of Babylon*, p. 73 ff.); it is beyond doubt that the temple of I, 159, and the houses of II, 62, were rectangular; at VIII, 79, it is equally clear that the entity surrounded cannot be regarded as circular.
2. The comparison with the *trochoeidēs* was explicitly made in order to indicate the size of the Eg. lake, though it is extremely probable that connections had previously been made under the influence of religious syncretism (vide infra). It need imply nothing about the shape of the Saite lake. It is likely that the *trochoeidēs* was chosen simply because it was the classic Gk. sacred lake, well known throughout the Gk. world, and, therefore, ideal as a yardstick.
3. As far as we know, Eg. sacred lakes were either rectangular or crescent-shaped (vide supra).

Clearly, neither the linguistic evidence nor Eg. architectural convention

provides any encouragement for the belief that the Saite lake was circular and we ought to translate the troublesome phrase “well worked on all sides”. What, in fact, was its shape? The crescent-shaped lake (*išrw*) is inseparably linked with the mythology of certain goddesses (n. II, 138) and would certainly have been relevant to Neith in whose *temenos* the lake was located. On the other hand, the *išrw* would not have been ritually compatible with the Osirian *mysteria* under discussion here. Therefore, the Saite lake was probably of the rectangular type.

καὶ μέγαθος ... ἡ τροχοειδὴς καλεομένη: On the *trochoeidēs* vide Thgn., I, 5 ff.; A., *Eu* 9; E., *IT* 1104; Call., *Ap* 59. It lay near Scardana N.E. of the temple of Leto, of whose *temenos* it undoubtedly formed part, and was oval rather than wheel-shaped. Its measurements were c. 100 m. N.-S. and c. 70 m. E.-W. If, therefore, H.’s comparison was justified, the Saite lake was larger than that of Amon-rē at Karnak (c. 275 ft. x 100 ft. = c. 83.8 m. x 30.4 m.) and appreciably larger than those of Medinet Habu (60 ft. sq. = 18.2 m. sq.), Dendera (c. 88.6 ft x 114.8 ft. = c. 27 m. x 35 m.) and Tanis (196.8 ft. x 164 ft. = c. 60 m. x 50 m.). This situation is not intrinsically implausible but H.’s unreliability in such matters (n. II, 8, 124, 148) suggests caution in accepting his appraisal.

According to Gk. myth it was on the shore of the *trochoeidēs* that Leto gave birth to Apollo and Artemis (Thgn., l.c.) and it is well nigh certain that similarities between this myth and elements in the Osirian cycle would have facilitated comparison with Eg. sacred lakes (cf. n. II, 156).

Bibliography: Cayeux, *Delos*, IV, 1; Picard, *RHR* 101(1930), p. 230; Plassart, *Delos*, XI, p. 65, n. 2; Gallet de Santerre, *Délos Primitif et Archaique*, pp. 62, 115 ff., 146 ff., 245, 257 ff., 269 ff., 277; id., *Delos*, XXIV; Bruneau-Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, p. 114; Kirsten-Kraiker, *Griechenlandkunde*⁵, p. 501.

ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκεε: H. insists that his comment on the size of the lakes is based on autopsy (for which vide Introduction, p. 81 ff.).

171. ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ ... Αἰγύπτιοι: H. is undoubtedly referring to one of the rites of the Festival of Khoiak, viz. “the Navigation of Osiris”, which took place, in most parts of Egypt, usually on the night of the 24th-25th of the month of Khoiak, but it should be emphasized that he is quite mistaken in regarding the rites as *mystēria* (nn. II, 61; Alliot, *Le Culte*, pp. 244 ff., 696). At Sais it was associated with the *Pr t̥hn*, “the House of Splendour(?)”, and differed from those elsewhere in that Osiris was represented there by the image of a mummy set on a plinth and this image was made by a sculptor, not cast in a mould (Chassinat, *Le Mystère*, pp. 92, 267, 269).

περὶ μὲν νυν τούτων ... εὖστομα κείσθω: Vide nn. II, 61; 170, 1.

καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς πέρι ... καλέουσι: The Thesmophoria was

celebrated almost everywhere in the Gk. world, taking place at Athens on the 11th–13th of Pyanepsion. It was held in honour of Demeter Thesmophoros and confined to women. The culminating rituals of the *Kalligeneia*, which were enacted on the last day, prove that it was intended to promote the fertility of the crops (Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 50 ff.; Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, p. 313 ff.; Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians*, p. 82 ff.). The Thesmophoria was not identical with the *mystēria* which H. has just mentioned but features at this point by an association of ideas for several reasons:

1. H. identified Demeter with Isis (II, 59, 122–3) and Isis was one of the most important figures in the Osirian “mysteries”.
2. H. considered the rites performed on the lake to be *mystēria*; in Greece the rites of the Thesmophoria, though not *mystēria* in the strict sense, were shrouded in the atmosphere of secrecy and taboo particularly associated with such cults (Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 50 ff.; Parke, *op. cit.*, p. 82 ff.).
3. H. believed that the birth of Apollo and Artemis, which was associated with the Delian lake, had an Eg. origin (nn. II, 156, 6; 171, 2); he took the same view of the Thesmophoria (vide infra).

αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες ... τὰς Πελασιγιώτιδας γυναῖκας: An unusually explicit illustration of H.’s mistaken opinion that the major part of Gk. religious institutions derived from Egypt (nn. II, 43–65, particularly Ch. 50).

αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες: The daughters of Danaus were an obvious agency to invoke in explaining the transmission of the Thesmophoria both because of their sex and their alleged Eg. nationality. The statement is, however, historically worthless since the Danaus Cycle is probably nothing more than a scholarly fabrication of the Orientalizing or Archaic Period (Introduction, p. 123 ff.).

τὰς Πελασιγιώτιδας γυναῖκας: Again women are *de rigueur* in view of the character of the Thesmophoria. H. ascribed to the Pelasgians a major rôle in the development of Gk. religion but his opinion is once more historically without value since the Pelasgians were, in the main, a creation of Gk. scholarly speculation (n. II, 50; Lochner-Hüttenbach, *Die Pelasger*, p. 113).

μετὰ δὲ ἐξαναστάσης πάσης Πελοποννήσου ... μούνοι: The concept of *exanastasis*, “displacement”, was a prominent feature in Gk. writings on the early history of Greece (cf. Th., I, 2, 12) and evidently reflects historical movements of population during the Late Bronze and Dark Ages (Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors*, p. 216 ff.; id., *The Greek Dark Ages*, p. 321 ff.; Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece*, p. 296 ff.). The Dorian Invasion played a conspicuous rôle within these traditions as

the "Return of the Heracleidae" and its historicity is guaranteed by the dialect pattern of Greece in later times (Chadwick, *CAH*³ II, 2, p. 812 ff.). Archaeological evidence suggests that it probably took place during the 11th Century B.C. and it is now generally believed that it had no connection with the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces (Desborough, *op. cit.*, p. 251 ff.). It should, however, be remembered that the tradition on the event which was accessible to H. and his contemporaries was severely distorted, particularly from a chronological point of view, and should be treated with extreme circumspection (cf. Hammond, *CAH*³ II, 2, p. 681 ff.; Desborough, *op. cit.*, p. 244 ff.; *id.*, *The Greek Dark Ages*, p. 324 ff.).

καὶ οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες ... μῶνοι: H. probably ascribed the preservation of the Thesmophoria to the Arcadians for two reasons:

1. Some Arcadians at least were considered to be Pelasgian in origin (n. II, 50).
2. The cult of Demeter was wide-spread in Arcadia (Nilsson, *GgrR* I, p. 448 ff.).

172-4. After a brief note on Amasis' antecedents (172, 1), H. offers three *logoi* in which he is presented as a mixture of the *sophos*, the *polymētis*, a reformed thief and playboy (cf. Crahay, *La Littérature Oraculaire*, p. 229). The first story (172, 2-5) is probably of Gk. origin, the other two (173-4) are probably Gk. versions of Eg. tales. H. skilfully varies the format of his examples: in the first the lesson is given in indirect speech; in the second a dialogue in direct speech is used; in the third a narrative technique is employed. The wisdom, cunning and moral perception of Amasis are often mentioned in later texts (e.g. D.S., I, 95; Plu., *De Virtutibus Mulierum* 25(*Mor* 261C ff.); Polyaeus, *Strat* VII, 4).

172. Ἀπρίεω ... ἐβασίλευσε Ἀμασις: Misleading. There was an overlap in the two reigns; Amasis became king in 570 and Apries maintained his claim to the throne until his death in 567 (n. II, 163). It would, however, be quite wrong to impute the error to H. himself. Manetho's predilection for ignoring such anomalies proves that even the best informed Eg. priests were perfectly capable of purveying erroneous information on these matters.

νομοῦ μὲν Σαίτῳ: We can accept this detail without any qualms: Amasis had been an officer of Apries and the kings of the XXVIth Dyn., which was itself Saite, showed a natural tendency to prefer officers and officials from their own nome.

Σιοῦφ: This is the only indubitably genuine occurrence of the place-name. It also appears in a Gk. graffito on a limestone relief representing Amasis where the king is described as *ὁ πα-Σιο(ύφ)* (Brunner-Hommel, *AOF* 18(1957-8), p. 279 ff.; *SEG* 17, 208, 792) but there are doubts about the

authenticity of this inscription (Fraser, *JEA* 45(1959), p. 88 ff., no. 9). The site has never been located beyond dispute. Suggestions are Es-Seffeh, N. of Sais (Kees, *RE* IIIA, 417; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 87; Montet, *DG* I, p. 85), and the *Ny-sw-it.f* mentioned on the sarcophagus of Petiese, son of Psentaes (Berlin no. 29), which seems to have lain near Sais (Yoyotte, *MDAI(K)* 16(1958), p. 414 ff.). Pace Wiedemann (*Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I. bis auf Alexander den Grossen*, p. 179), Plato's statement that Amasis came from Sais (*Ti* 21E) need mean no more than that this was the city with which he was pre-eminently associated.

τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ... δουλεύειν: Amasis as *polymētis*. The tale contains several commonly occurring elements:

1. The Reversal-of-Fortune Motif (vide n. II, 128).
2. The Wise-Ruler Motif exemplified both in Eg. texts (n. II, 163) and in Gk. historical tradition (Lloyd, *JEA* 63(1977), p. 153).
3. The Trick Motif (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, Index, s.v. K; Eg. tradition can present kings and gods as tricksters (Lloyd, *Historia* 31(1982), p. 47)). In this case the trick takes the form of a *paradeigma* comparable to the bow in the following chapter.
4. The Obscenity Motif (Thompson, op. cit., Index, s.v. Obscene).

How much of this *logos* is Eg.? The last three elements are compatible with a Gk. or Eg. origin but the first is cast in a form which looks very Gk. indeed and clearly reflects the recurrent preoccupation in Gk. literature with the mutability of human fortune (*ἄτε δὴ δημότην ... οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος*). These observations, combined with such examples of un-Eg. behaviour as washing the feet before meals and the setting up of a cult-statue in a public place (cf. de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 94), must create a strong presumption that we are confronted with a tale which arose in one of the many favourable Gk. milieux within and without the valley of the Nile. If, on the other hand, de Meulenaere is correct in assigning the narrative an Eg. origin (op. cit., p. 95) we should have to assume a radical Gk. reworking at some point to account for the version in H.

ἄτε δὴ δημότην ... οὐκ ἐπιφανέος: Cf. Hellan., *FgrH* 4, F.55; D.S., I, 95, 1. Disputed by older scholars who believed that Amasis was Apries' brother-in-law and of royal blood. It is now recognized that the evidence will not bear this interpretation. At present the only thing we know of his ancestors is that his mother's name was Tasheritese—and that helps not one jot in defining the social stratum from which he derived (de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 86 ff.; id., *JEA* 54(1968), p. 183 ff.). However, despite the dearth of evidence, it would be unwise to accept H.'s tradition too readily for several reasons:

1. Reversal-of-Fortune is a common folk-motif and folk-lore certainly played a part in the development of the Amasis tradition (vide infra).
2. There is evidence that Amasis was the victim of a *damnatio memoriae*

during the Persian Period: his name was deliberately erased from some of his monuments at that time (Bresciani, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 16(1967), p. 277; de Meulenaere, *JEA* 54(1968), p. 184) and in the Demotic *P. Rylands*, IX, of the reign of Darius I the name of Amasis does not receive a cartouche on several occasions, i.e. the legitimacy of his rule is denied (Griffith, *Cat. Dem. Pap. Ryl.*, III, p. 99, n. 1). Under these circumstances the development of a derogatory tradition on Amasis' origins would be quite natural.

173. ἐχράτο δὲ καταστάσι πρηγμάτων τοιῆδε ... ἀμείψατο: The second example of Amasis' *sophiē* (on which vide n. II, 172, 2). The tale is probably a Gk. reworking of an Eg. original (vide infra).

τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ... παιγνιήμων: Cf. II, 174, 1; Plu., *Sept Sap Conv* 6(*Mor* 151 B ff.); Ael., *VH* II, 41. The critical attitude may owe something to Eg. anti-Amasis tradition (vide n. II, 172, 2) but such royal self-indulgence would not have seemed particularly heinous to an Eg. audience familiar with the irreverent representations of Pharaoh common in fiction (vide infra) and would hardly be the most suitable material for anti-Amasis propaganda.

Amasis' predilection for strong drink is also featured in the fragmentary Demotic story of *Amasis and the Boatman* preserved in a manuscript of early Ptol. date (Introduction, p. 103 ff.). The relationship of this narrative to H.'s story is a difficult problem. There are two possibilities:

1. The drunken Amasis was a Gk. invention which passed into Demotic literature.
 2. The theme was current in Eg. tradition and taken up by the Gks.
- Since foreign influence is undoubtedly present in Demotic literature (de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 95 ff.; Morenz-Kaiser, *Die Begegnung Europas mit Ägypten*, pp. 62 ff., 105 ff., 227 ff.), there is an initial temptation to accept the first alternative, but this seems ill-advised since the Demotic tale shows clear thematic and structural affinities with traditional Eg. literature:

1. The presentation of an irreverent picture of Pharaoh is easily paralleled (Introduction, l.c.; de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 95).
2. The structure of the story exemplifies the roman-cadre technique typical of Eg. narrative literature (Spiegelberg, op. cit., p. 28; Posener in Harris (Ed.), *The Legacy of Egypt*, p. 236 ff.; Lloyd, *Historia* 31(1982), p. 53).

On balance, therefore, it seems preferable to accept the second of our two possible explanations of the origin of H.'s tale (so also Meyer, *SPAW* 16 (1915), p. 305 ff., and Spiegelberg, *ZDMG* 85(1931), p. 152 ff., but cf. Kees, *Ägypten*, p. 66 ff., and Brunner, *ZÄS* 79(1954), p. 83). In this context it should be emphasized that we should not accept at the foot of the letter the historical validity of this picture of Amasis (against Tresson, *Kēmi* 4(1931),

p. 141 ff.; Spalinger, *Orientalia* 47(1978), pp. 26, 33, *et al.*). Even Tuthmose III can get badly mauled in popular tradition (Introduction, p. 103).

ἀχθεσθέντες ... ἀμείψατο: Aly rightly points out that the language, rhythm and tone of this passage are reminiscent of tragedy and place it in a unique position in Book II (*Volskmärchen*, p. 61). This anomaly is presumably to be explained mainly by the intrinsically dramatic situation and its moralistic tone. The chiding of the *philoî* and their defeat by Amasis has a counterpart in *Amasis and the Boatman* where the king's courtiers attempt unsuccessfully to prevent the king indulging in a drunken orgy. Their object is not, however, based on moral considerations but on the possible physical consequences (see ll. 1-3).

οὐκ ὀρθῶς ... οὐδαμῶς βασιλικά: These sentiments may be entirely Gk. in origin but this is not a necessary assumption. In Eg. literature of the L.P. we find on several occasions the suggestion that Pharaohs may be unworthy of their office and incur the wrath of the gods in consequence (Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 42 ff.). It is, therefore, possible that the speech, or something like it, derived from a native Eg. narrative.

ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο ... ἀμείψατο: Cf. Ov., *Her* IV, 89 ff. Speeches based on *apophthegmata* are not infrequent in H. (Heni, *Die Gespräche bei Herodot*, p. 132). This *paradeigma* is functionally comparable to the statue in the preceding tale. Such bow-metaphors do not seem to occur in Eg. literature (cf. Grapow, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegyptischen*, p. 171 ff.) but the use of highly figurative language is a common feature, the classic example being *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*; Simpson (Ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, p. 31 ff.). It is therefore, possible that again we have an element reflecting something in a native Eg. version but, since H.'s metaphor is related to its subject much more explicitly than we should expect in an Eg. text, we must at the very least postulate reworking in the interests of Gk. taste.

174. λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις ... ἐπεμέλετο: The third example Of Amasis' *sophiē* (on which vide n. II, 172, 2). Again, the character of the tale suggests that we are dealing with a Gk. reworking of an Eg. original (vide *infra*). Here, however, one detects an ambivalence in attitude to Amasis which does not appear in the *logoi* of II, 172-3. In those cases criticisms of Amasis' conduct were adequately met whereas in this instance no ethically satisfying explanation of his thefts is provided. On the other hand, the story does leave us with the firm conviction that Amasis, once king, showed a clear and uncompromising perception of justice.

λέγεται ... κλέπτεσκε ἄν περιών: Cf. II, 173, 1. The accusation of thievery is on quite a different level from allegations of intemperance in that theft is a

criminal activity. We are, therefore, justified in harbouring a strong suspicion that this accusation reflects the hostility towards Amasis current in some quarters during the Persian Period (vide n. II, 172, 2).

οἱ δ' ἄν μιν φάμενοι ... ἐπὶ μαντήιον: The use of oracles to solve legal problems, including theft, was a standard Eg. practice (vide n. II, 83; de Meulenaere, *Athenaeum* 27(1949), p. 299 ff.; id., *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 49 ff.; Allam, *Das Verfahrensrecht in der altägyptischen Arbeitersiedlung von Deir el-Medineh*, p. 73 ff.).

ὅσοι μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν θεῶν ... ἐπεμέλετο: Since the question of the reliability of oracles was clearly a matter of serious concern to 5th Century Gks. (cf. H., I, 47-9; IV, 68-9; in general Parke, *Greek Oracles*, p. 107 ff.), doubts inevitably arise about the Eg. origin of this element. On the other hand, in view of the wide use of oracles in Egypt during the L.P., it is not unlikely that the veracity of some would have been questioned by Egs. themselves, particularly those who had received unfavourable responses, and these reservations could well have fuelled reports like the present. If so, the rôle of the interest of contemporary Gks. in such matters would have been confined to focusing their attention on the tale under discussion rather than some other.

175-6. Amasis' building activities in Sais and Memphis.

175. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Σαί ... ἐσελκουσθῆναι: The lamentable state of the site means that little evidence survives of Amasis' work in Sais (cf. n. II, 169, 4). His interest is reflected by a large block of red granite bearing his name which was visible there in the 1940s (Habachi, *ASAE* 42(1943), p. 374); an offering table from Sais in the British Museum (*PM* IV, p. 48) and another in Baltimore (WAG inv. no. 292); the Capitoline sphinx (*PM* VII, p. 414); a naos at Leiden (AM 107); and a stele of Regnal Year 8 recording the dedication of a court and land to the goddess Neith (*PM* l.c.). Some at least of Amasis' architectural projects there were executed by the Chancellor of the King of Lower Egypt Psamtjeksineith (Ranke, *MDAI(K)* 12(1943), p. 107 ff.).

προπύλαια ... ὁκοίων τέων: On *thōmasia* in H. vide Introduction, p. 141 ff. This monument must have been a pylon comparable to those still extant in the temples of U.E. (cf. Clarke-Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry*, Index, s.v.; Shubert, *JSSEA* 11(1981), p. 135 ff.).

κολοσσούς μεγάλους ... ἐκόμισε: Again *thōmasia* (vide supra). Remains of large-scale sculpture have been found on the site. Wasif discovered the head and torso of a king in red granite, probably of XXVIth Dyn. date, the head of which measured 1.27 m. (4.16 ft.) in height and the torso 1.10 m. (3.6 ft.) (*Oriens Antiquus* 13(1974), p. 328).

ἀνδρόσφιγγας: Sphinxes of this type have the body of a lion and the head of the king (Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx im alten Ägypten*, p. 32 ff.; De Wit, *Le Rôle et le Sens du Lion dans l'Égypte Ancienne*, p. 39 ff.). We can be certain that these specimens were portraits of Amasis himself. They were probably set up flanking a processional road into or within the temple to provide magical protection against attacks by human or supernatural enemies. Such monuments were clearly common in the L.P. (Schweitzer, op. cit., p. 65 ff.; De Wit, op. cit., p. 52 ff.) but examples of undoubted Saite origin are rare. Examples of sphinxes of Amasis are extant in the sandstone specimen from Istabl 'Antar, S. of Old Cairo (*PM* IV, p. 73), the Alexandrian sphinx (de Meulenaere, *JEA* 54(1968), p. 184, n. 3) and the basalt sphinx in the Capitoline Museum (*PM* VII, p. 414). Amasis is also depicted as a sphinx on a door-jamb of the temple of El-Bahriya Oasis (*PM* VII, p. 299).

τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Μέμφιν ἐουσέων λιθοτομιέων: i.e. they were made of limestone from the Mokattam Hills (on which vide n. II, 124, 2). Inscriptions of Necho and Psammetichus II have been found there but nothing of Amasis (de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 118).

τοὺς δὲ ὑπερμεγάθεις ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος: i.e. from the granite quarries at Assuan where the red and black varieties of that stone were available (vide n. II, 134, 1). Saite inscriptions are common in the area and include examples from the reign of Amasis (de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 119).

πλόον ... ἀπὸ Σαΐος: The distance by water is c. 1107 kms. (691.8 miles) (Goyon, *BIFAO* 69(1970), p. 31). H.'s time for the journey is acceptable as a round figure if we assume an average speed of c. 35 miles (c. 56 kms.) per day (cf. nn. II, 83–9; Goyon, l.c.).

τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἦκιστα ... ἐστὶ τόδε: Again to *thōmasion* (vide supra).

οἶκημα μουνόλιθον ... ἔσοδον: Undoubtedly a *naos* (Habachi, op. cit., p. 371). At c. 30.38 ft. (c. 9.26 m.) in height, 11.54 ft. (3.52 m.) in breadth and 20.24 ft. (6.17 m.) in depth it is considerably larger than most extant *naoi* (cf. Roeder, *CGC. Naos, passim*) but a monolithic example erected by Amasis at Thmuis is over 20 ft. (c. 6.0 m.) high and 12 ft. (c. 3.6 m.) wide. It is made of red granite and has a roof cut in the shape of a pyramidion (Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh*, p. 17). Much smaller monolithic *naoi* of his reign are known from Alexandria, Athribis, Nebesheh, Abydos and Memphis (*PM* III, p. 227; IV, pp. 5, 8, 66; V, p. 43) as well as from Sais itself (Leiden AM 107). H.'s wording implies that the *oikēma* was made at Elephantine and then transported to Sais. It was standard practice to rough out monuments in the quarries before dispatching them to their destination (cf. Clarke–Engelbach, op. cit., pp. 27 ff., 85).

ἐπ' ἔτα τρία: This figure is not to be taken literally. In H. "three" is a formulaic or typical number and in such contexts usually implies no more than a lengthy period of time (cf. Blom, *De typische Getallen bij Homeros en Herodotos*, pp. 1 ff., 57 ff.; Lloyd, *JEA* 63(1977), p. 149).

δισχίλιοι ... ἀγωγέες: On Eg. methods of transporting such blocks vide n. II, 124, 2. In the reign of the XIth Dyn. Pharaoh Montuhotpe IV 3000 sailors were used to "escort" a sarcophagus lid from the Wadi Hammamat quarries to the Nile (de Buck, *Egyptian Reading Book*, p. 75 ~ *BAR* I, §390) but it seems highly improbable that so large a number was physically involved in moving the lid at any one time. Here and in the case of Amasis' *naos* the figure will reflect the total force available from which the transport gangs were drawn by rota. For a monument as large as the *naos* a force of 2000 does not seem excessive.

καὶ οὗτοι ... κυβερνήται: On the *kybernētai* vide n. II, 164, 1.

ἔσω γάρ μιν ... οὐκ ἐσελकुσθήναι: On H.'s use of alternative versions vide n. II, 2, 5. Neither story is plausible but both cast Amasis in a favourable light: not only is he overwhelmed by the human cost of his ambition but the phrase *ἐνθυμιστὸν ποιησάμενον* suggests that H. interpreted the events as unfavourable omens and regarded Amasis as piously acquiescing in the divine will. Possibly an Eg. tale lurks somewhere here but, since both recorded versions presuppose a sensitivity to portents which is much more Gk. than Eg., we must at the least accept some reworking to satisfy Gk. taste.

ἐνθυμητόν: So Bekker *et alii* but the word does not occur in any of the MSS. The *ἐνθυμιστόν* of Hude's "a" group of MSS and cod. Parisinus 1633 seems preferable for two reasons:

1. It is an MS reading whereas *ἐνθυμητόν* is not.
2. It gives an excellent sense. Apart from *lexika* it appears elsewhere only in two inscriptions from Thasos concerned with cult regulations (Martin, *BCH* 64-5(1940-1), p. 184 ff.; Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'Histoire et les Cultes de Thasos*, I, p. 372 ff.) where it presupposes that a culpable act has been perpetrated in relation to the gods which ought to elicit remorse, i.e. it means something like "filled with (religious) scruples on the matter".

176. ἀνέθηκε ... ἀξιοθέτα: There is evidence of contributions of Amasis to temples in Karnak, Mendes, the Tanta area, probably Kôm Firin, Tell el-Maskhuta, Benha, Sohag, El-Manshah, Edfu, 'Ain el-Muftella in the Bahriya Oasis and possibly at Qasr el-Megysba in the same area (*PM* II, p. 192 ff.; IV, pp. 35 ff., 45 ff., 51, 55, 66; V, pp. 31, 36, 202; VII, pp. 308 ff., 311). He also built temples of his own at Philae and Elephantine

(Farag–Wahba–Farid, *Oriens Antiquus* 16(1977), p. 315 ff.), Nebesha, Abydos, El-Bawiti (Bahriya Oasis) and Aghurmi (Siwa Oasis) (*PM* IV, p. 8; V, p. 43; VII, pp. 299 ff, 313).

ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐν Μέμφι ... τὸ μήκος: Cf. II, 110, 1. Memphis was a traditional focus of concern for the Saite Dynasty (n. II, 151, 1). The statue's recumbent position must mean either that it had fallen or that it had never been raised to the vertical position. Two fallen colossi of Ramesses II are still visible on the site, the one of granite, 26 ft. (c. 7.9 m.) high, the other of limestone and over 42 ft. (c. 12.8 m.) high when complete (Kees, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 176). If H.'s measurement is correct, Amasis' statue would be the largest known Eg. statue; for, at a height of at least 72 English ft. (22 m.; conversion at 1 *pous* = 29.4 cm., the lowest figure for the *pous* available: *Artemis Lexikon*, 3424), it would have towered above the colossi of Abu Simbel (over 65 ft. = c. 20 m.: Baedeker, *Egypt*⁷, p. 404) and the colossi of Memnon which, in their original form, were not far short of c. 69 ft. high (c. 21 m.: Baedeker, op. cit., p. 330). Amasis' demonstrable architectural gigantism at Sais (n. II, 175, 3–4) justifies us in accepting that the statue in question was unusually large but H.'s recurrent inaccuracy on measurements (n. II, 8, 124, 148) makes it impossible to place any confidence in the literal truth of his dimensions.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ βάθρῳ ... τοῦ μεγάλου: H. seems to imply that the larger statue was not of granite. The smaller figures, at least 19 ft. (c. 5.8 m.) high, presumably represented queens or princes and are paralleled by the figures beside and between the legs of the colossi at Abu Simbel (Baedeker, l.c.). The triad is a well-known form of Eg. sculptural composition, the most famous examples being those of Menkaurē (Mycerinus), though these are much smaller than the gigantic creation of Amasis (Vandier, *Manuel*, III, p. 21 ff.).

ἔστι δὲ λίθινος ... τῷ ἐν Μέμφι: Vide n. II, 175, 1. There is some evidence of a shrine of Isis in the Memphite area during the Ramesside Period but this passage is the earliest reference to a substantial temple in her honour at Memphis itself. Graeco-Roman sources speak both of sanctuaries and temple domains belonging to this goddess in the city (de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 120 ff.; Bergman, *Ich bin Isis*, p. 241 ff.; Dunand, *Le Culte d'Isis dans le Bassin Oriental de la Méditerranée*, I, p. 123 ff.).

τῇ Ἴσι τε ... ἀξιοθεητότατον: Remains of Amasis' temple have never been identified. Ruins of a sanctuary of his were found on the E.–W. axis of the temple of Ptah (*PM* III², p. 840) and there is also evidence of his building activities at Kôm el-Nawa (op. cit., p. 851) but, in both cases, we are ignorant of the deities involved. At all events, Amasis' devotion to Isis is

certain since he constructed a temple in her honour on the island of Philae (vide supra). Amasis also had a palace at Memphis but how much of this he built himself, if anything, it is impossible to say (de Meulenaere, op. cit., p. 121).

ἐξοικοδομήσας: What is the precise significance of ἐξ - ? *LSJ* ignore it and render simply “build” (p. 596, b; cf. Powell who offers “erect” (*Lexicon*, p. 126, a)); Bergman inclines to “ausbauen”, “complete, finish off” (op. cit., p. 242, n. 2). Neither translation is satisfactory; for the only other example of the word in H. clearly conveys the notion “build from beginning to end” (V, 62, 2 τὸν νηὸν ... τὸν νῦν ἑόντα, τότε δὲ οὕκω, τοῦτον ἐξοικοδομήσαι; cf. the closely similar ἐξεργάσασθαι of II, 180, 1). H. wishes to emphasize that, big and wonderful though the Isis temple was, Amasis built the whole thing himself.

177. 'Επ' Ἀμάσιος ... τὰς οἰκομένας: The stability and prosperity of Egypt under Amasis are confirmed by the extent, quality and size of his architectural works (n. II, 175-6) as well as by the large number of administrative documents surviving from his reign (Griffith, *Cat. Dem. Pap. Ryl.*, III, p. 20 ff.; cf. Jelinková-Reymond, *ASAE* 54(1956), p. 261). A passage in D.S. (I, 60, 1, contradicted at I, 95, 1) runs directly contrary in that Amasis' rule is characterized as so harsh, arrogant, unjust and rapacious that his subjects revolted. If this is a genuine tradition and not a mistake of D.S. or one of his predecessors, it presumably reflects the attitudes of the anti-Amasis section of the population (cf. n. II, 172, 2).

καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ... τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι: This expression has a very Eg. ring to it: cf. *ḥt nbt nfrt bnrt n dd(t) pt km:yt t: innt Ḥsy m tpt.f*, “everything good and sweet of that which is given by heaven, created by earth and brought forth by the Nile from his cavern” (*Wb* Belegstellen V, 35, 8; for other examples and variants vide *Wb* V, p. 35, 7-8). Given the peculiarities of Eg. geography this similarity may be coincidental but, since Eg. informants speaking Gk. must often have lapsed into Egyptianisms, the probability of direct borrowing is very great.

καὶ πόλεις ... τὰς οἰκομένας: H. implies that a decline had taken place during the Persian Period, and, in view of the instability of the country during the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I (Posener, *La Première Domination Perse en Egypte*, p. 190 ff.; Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 227, 303 ff.), this would not be surprising, but a total of 20,000 *poleis* is startlingly high. One way out of the dilemma is provided by the Wilbour Papyrus of Regnal Year 4 of Ramesses V which lists about 416 settlements of *all* kinds in an area of 136 sq. kms. in U.E. (O'Connor in Ucko-Tringham-Dimbleby (Eds.), *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, p. 690 ff.; Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt*, p. 71). If we assume that

such a settlement density was typical and that the total cultivated area of Egypt was c. 25,000 sq. kms. (n. II, 165), we gain a figure of over 76,000 settlements for the country as a whole. If we then regard the word *polis* as a mistake, or an exaggeration to the greater glory of Amasis, and argue that H., or his source was actually referring to settlements ranging from sizeable hamlets to cities, his statement passes into the realm of possibility (cf. de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 123).

νόμον τε Αἰγυπτίοισι ... ὁ καταστήσας: Amasis does not feature as a law-giver in any surviving Eg. text. The following evidence has been used to explain H.'s observation:

1. D.S. speaks of Amasis as organizing the administration of the country after his defeat of Apries and as ruling in accordance with the law. At I, 95, 1, on Eg. authority, he includes Amasis in his list of Eg. lawgivers and states that he re-organized both provincial administration and the government of the entire country.
2. Hieroglyphic texts from the reign of Amasis refer to reorganization in secular and religious contexts (Posener, *RdPh* 21(1947), p. 126, n. 2; Jelinková-Reymond, op. cit., p. 251 ff.).
3. Demotic, originally the administrative script of L.E., was established at Thebes from Regnal Year 12 of Amasis together with the legal practices associated with it. Abnormal Hieratic, the U.E. counterpart, disappears abruptly after Regnal Year 22 (Malinine, *Choix de Textes Juridiques en Hiératique "Anormal" et en Démotique*, p. XVII ff.; Vleeming, *CdE* 56(1981), p. 31 ff.).

The evidence of D.S. is not compelling since it may simply be inference based on H., II, 177, 2, and the fact that Apries and Amasis had fought a civil war. The ascription of the information to an Eg. source does not confirm its historicity since it is perfectly possible that a Gk. account based on supposition had been injected into Eg. tradition. On the other hand, even if D.S.'s claims were inference, the inference has much to be said for it since civil war and usurpation must create disruption and disaffected elements at all levels and Amasis would have needed to cope with these. As for the Hieroglyphic evidence, careful scrutiny reveals that it is chronologically too imprecise and shows too many commonplaces in thought and situations described to justify relating any of it to a programme of legislation or reorganization. The texts may simply represent unconnected actions taken at different times to deal with isolated problems in specific areas. The Demotic evidence provides surer ground; for it can only reflect measures on the part of the crown to standardize administration throughout the country and probably reflects the final stage in the unification of the country initiated by Psammetichus I (Malinine, l.c.).

In the light of this analysis, the most plausible explanation of the tradition on Amasis the lawgiver would be that it originated in a programme of reform and reorganization after his defeat of Apries. In all

probability this was comparable to the measures described in the Restoration Decree of Horemheb (*Urk IV*, 2140 ff. ~ *BAR III*, §45 ff.; Kruchten, *Le Décret d'Horemheb*) and the reforms made by Darius to Eg. law (Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik*, p. 30 ff.) both of which probably involved little more than a reaffirmation of the situation prevailing before the crises which they were intended to solve (cf. Jelinková-Reymond, *op. cit.*). Reports of such activities on the part of Amasis, combined with the tradition of his wisdom (n. II, 172-4), and his relations with Solon, could easily have given rise to the law-giver aspect preserved in Classical literature.

ἀποδεικνύναι ... βιοῦται: Cf. D.S., I, 77, 5. A regulation of this kind certainly existed before Amasis' time (Introduction, p. 55 ff.; Cohen, *Mnemosyne* 53(1925), p. 82 ff.). The determination to ascribe it to him was probably an offshoot of the tradition that Solon had visited Amasis (vide infra; cf. in general v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 201; Markianos, *Historia* 23(1974), p. 7 ff.).

177, 2-182. Amasis and the Gks. This section covers several topics: 177, 2, Amasis and Solon; 178-9, Amasis and Naucratis; 180, Amasis and the Delphians; 181, Amasis and Cyrene; 182, Amasis' dedications in Gk. shrines and the conquest of Cyprus.

Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ... νόμῳ: Cf. I, 30, 1. The widely current tradition of Solon's visit to Egypt is highly suspect (Introduction, p. 55 ff.).

τοῦτον τὸν νόμον ... ἀμώμῳ νόμῳ: Probably the *nomos argias* (Introduction, l.c.). It is conceivable, though no more, that the latter appeared in the code of Draco and was simply taken over from there by Solon (Stroud, *Drakon's Law on Homicide*, p. 79).

178. φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος: "Having become a lover of the Greeks". This phrase refers to a change of heart on the part of Amasis. The Gks. had initially been pro-Apries and ranged against him (II, 163). Philhellene Amasis certainly became (vide infra), but is H. right in giving philhellenism as the reason for Amasis' dealings with Naucratis? Probably he is looking at the event with the later image of the Gk.-loving Amasis firmly fixed in his mind. The measures, whose restrictive character is clear, were probably inspired by quite the opposite feeling (so also Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 46 ff.; v. Fritz, *Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 201 ff.).

ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξέτερος: H. mentions a number of benefactions to which this expression might refer (II, 180, 2; 182, *passim*; III, 47, *passim*).

τοῖσι ἀπικνευμένοισι: For the history and motives of Gk. relations with Egypt vide Introduction, p. 1 ff.

Ναύκρατις: Eg. *Niwt-krt*, *Niwt-krti*, *Krt(?)*, *Nkrđ/Nkrt* (Spiegelberg, *SBAW* 1928, 3, 8 ff.; cf. Gauthier, *DG* III, p. 75; Montet, *DG* I, p. 65). According to the Naucratis Stele (Erman, *ZÄS* 38(1900), p. 130, l.10) it also bore the name *Pr-mryt*, "Harbour-house". The name "Naukratis" was clearly Gk. (Spiegelberg, *RT* 24(1902), p. 184; v. Bissing, *FuF* 25(1949), p. 1; Marion Smith, *JSOR* 10(1926), p. 138; Prinz, *Klio Beiheft* 7(1908), p. 9; Kees, *RE* XVI, 2, 1954) and attempts to make it Eg. (Mallet, *Les Premiers Etablissements*, p. 151, n. 1), Semitic (Lutz, *Univ. Cal. Pub. Sem. Phil.*, 10(1943), p. 275 ff.) or hybrid Eg./Gk. (Maspero, *Le Musée Egyptien*, I, pl. XLV, p. 43) are patently absurd. The city lay in the N.W. Delta on the Canopic Branch of the Nile (cf. H., II, 179; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III, *The Late Period*, p. 88). Its site was determined by Petrie (*Naukratis* I, p. 1 ff.) and is marked today by the mound of Nebireh near which stands another mound called Tell Neqrash, a name clearly preserving its ancient designation. Despite assertions to the contrary (Petrie, l.c.) the Canopic Branch of the Nile certainly flowed to the W.:

1. Str. (XVII, 1, 23 (C803)) states that, to a person travelling upstream from Schedia to Memphis on what must be the Canopic Branch, Naucratis appeared *on the left* with Sais some ten miles distant. Since the latter is an almost exactly correct measurement, we must treat the passage with respect. Naucratis must, therefore, have stood on the E. bank of the Canopic Branch.
2. To the W. of the *temenos* of Apollo Petrie discovered a thick bed of foul mud which suggested to him that there had once been an old dock or pond there (op. cit., I, p. 10). He believed that this was served by a canal large enough to be taken for a river and running to the W. of the city. There is no evidence of any such canal. It would be much better to accept Str.'s statement and regard this bed of mud as a remnant of the old river (so also Griffith in Gardner, *Naukratis*, II, p. 84).
3. A 3rd Century Papyrus (*PSI* V, no. 543) containing an itinerary from Pelusium to Alexandria suggests very strongly that on a journey northwards from Naucratis to Damanhûr it was necessary to cross the river. Since Damanhûr was on the W. of the Canopic Branch, this meant that Naucratis was on the E. (Edgar, *ASAE* 22(1922), p. 2 ff.).
4. Naucratis was included in the Saite Nome (5th of L.E.). Had it been on the W. Bank it would have been included in the Gynaecopolitan (3rd of L.E.) (Kees, op. cit., 1956).
5. The so-called Grand Temenos is an Eg. temple area and is orientated westwards. Since Eg. temples are orientated riverwards, the river must have flowed to the W. of Naucratis (Kees, l.c.).

Bibliography: Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, p. 1 ff.; Griffith in Gardner, *Naukratis*, II, p. 83 ff.; Hogarth, *JHS* 25(1905), p. 105 ff.; Prinz, *Klio Beiheft* 7(1908), p. 6 ff.; Kees, *RE* XVI, 2, 1955 ff.

Trading advantages offered by the site were considerable: 1. The Canopic Branch was navigable, certainly as far as Naucratis (Petrie, *op. cit.*, p. 10 ff.). Other mouths of the Nile were not navigable for larger ships (Str. XVII, 1, 18(C801); vide II, 179); 2. Communications with U.E. were good; 3. Sais, the capital, was nearby. The date of the foundation has been much discussed. Petrie argued that there was an Eg. settlement on the site which antedated all the Gk. remains (*op. cit.*, I, p. 21). The evidence is ceramic: a layer of burnt material was discovered during the excavations in the S. half of the site extending only between the Scarab Factory and the so-called Grand Temenos and this layer contained rough kitchen ware which could not be identified as Gk. (Hogarth, *JHS* 25(1905), p. 107). Certainly v. Bissing dated an amphora found in the burnt stratum to the 6th Century (*BSAA* 39(1951), p. 38) but one single pot in such a disturbed site is little enough to pit against the considered opinion of the excavators themselves (see also Kees, *op. cit.*, 1958). The two feet of material above the burnt layer contained pottery which occurred only at the bottom of excavations in the N. of the city, which is wholly Gk. in character. The evidence suggests, therefore, the presence of a pre-Gk. settlement and it may well be that the alternative name *Pr-mryt* found in the Naucratis Stele was its Eg. name; at all events, it is unlikely to have been a scholarly translation of "Naucratis" as v. Bissing suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 33). Dating the establishment of the Gk. foundation depends on evidence of two kinds: (a) literary; (b) archaeological:

- (a) Str., much the best literary source, taken together with Aristagoras (*FgrH* 608, F.8), indicates a date c. 655 B.C. (Introduction, p. 24 ff.). Polycharmus gives 688–5 (*op. cit.*, 640, F.1) and Eusebius 753–35 (Fotheringham, *JHS* 27(1907), p. 87), but neither of these has much authority.
- (b) The earliest pottery from Naucratis dates c. 620 B.C.:
 - (a) According to Petrie the *temenos* of Apollo held pottery from the period 620–10 B.C. This dating is supported by Roebuck (*CPH* 45(1950), p. 246, n. 59). The shrine was Milesian.
 - (b) Corinthian pottery on the site begins in the late 7th Century (Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 25, n. 6 & p. 187; Hopper, *BSA* 44(1949), p. 177, n. 65).
 - (c) Attic pottery, limited in quantity, begins with the late 7th Century (Beazley–Payne, *JHS* 49(1929), p. 253 ff.; Cook, *JHS* 57(1937), p. 228).
 - (d) Naucratis Ware, actually Chian in origin, begins in the last quarter of the 7th Century (Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 228, n. 9; Hopper, *op. cit.*, p. 154; Boardman, *BSA* 51(1956), p. 55 ff.).
 - (e) East Gk. pottery appeared to Cook to be at the earliest late 7th Century (*op. cit.*, p. 228).
 - (f) Some Rhodian pottery is datable to the late 7th Century (Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*², p. 122).

Clearly literary and archaeological material agree in placing the foundation in the reign of Psammetichus I (664–10 B.C.). They do, however, appear to indicate different periods within that time span: literary evidence points to c. 655 at the latest, archaeology to the last decade or so. Perhaps the easiest explanation is to assume that the Milesians first set up a trading station in the 650s but that it was not until 620–10 B.C. that it had reached the stage where it could leave significant remains (Introduction, p. 24 ff.).

Bibliography: Hirschfeld, *RhM* 42(1887), p. 210 ff.; id., ib. 44(1889), p. 461 ff.; Petrie, *Naukratis*, I, p. 4 ff.; Gardner, *Naukratis*, II, p. 70 ff.; Prinz, *Klio Beiheft* 7(1908), p. 1 ff.; v. Bissing, *FuF* 25(1949), p. 1 ff.; id., *BSAA* 39(1951), p. 35 ff.; Kees, *RE* XVI, 2, 1956.

τὸ μὲν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος ... Ἑλληνιον: The word *χρησιμώτατον* poses a problem. The standard meaning of *χρήσιμος* is “useful, serviceable”. This would not be impossible here but *LSJ* (p. 2006a, s.v. *χρήσιμος*, I, 3) give it a passive sense and translate “used, made use of, much frequented”. The Hellenium was probably the *temenos* discovered by Hogarth on the N.E. of the site (*BSA* 5(1898–9), p. 28 ff.; op. cit., p. 110 ff.) for two reasons:

- (a) Location. We should expect the Hellenium to lie in the N., i.e. Gk., section of the mound.
- (b) The occurrence of dedications within this *temenos* not only to individual gods but also to the “gods of the Greeks”. The complex also contained dedications to individual deities, e.g. Artemis and Aphrodite, while evidence of the worship of Herakles and probably Apollo was also unearthed. The date of these finds was 6th Century. We should expect the Hellenium to be a pan-Hellenic religious enclosure and that is exactly what the evidence suggests this area was.

Edgar (*JHS* 25(1905), p. 136) gives cogent reasons for believing that this *temenos* was not as ancient as the others:

- i. the site of the complex itself suggests that it was younger since it occupies a less central position. The centre of Naucratis was presumably already built up.
- ii. The finds from the Hellenium are less archaic than those elsewhere on the site.

The excavated remains were almost certainly priestly dwellings and treasuries (v. Bissing, op. cit., p. 79). They were still in use during the Ptol. Period when they underwent a thorough-going renovation (Hogarth, op. cit., p. 114).

There is evidence that a Hellenium existed at Memphis (Kenyon, *PLond* I, p. 49 (3rd Century B.C.); Mitteis–Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, I, 1, p. 18; op. cit., I, 2, p. 49).

Χίος: There is very clear evidence of the importance of this state at Naucratis:

1. The so-called Naucratic Ware is, in fact, Chian. The earliest fragments date from the last quarter of the 7th Century but the majority from the

first half of the 6th, after which it falls off rapidly in quantity (*JHS* 57(1937), p. 228, n. 9; *BSA* 44(1949), p. 154; ib. 51(1956), p. 55 ff.).

2. In Chios, and most sites where Naucratis Ware is found, Eg. faience figurines and scarabs also occur (v. Bissing *FuF* 25(1949), p. 1; id., *BSAA* 39(1951), p. 46).
3. Chian inscriptions are found on material from Naucratis (Petrie, op. cit., II, p. 63, 706; p. 64, 757; Edgar, *BSA* 5(1898–9), p. 55, 51, 60). None is earlier than c. 570 B.C. (Jeffery, *The Local Scripts*, p. 338).

Τέως: The evidence for Teans at Naucratis is clear:

1. Vase dedications were made by Teans (Petrie, op. cit., I, p. 61, 209; p. 62, 700; Gardner, op. cit., II, p. 64, 758; p. 65, 779; p. 68, 876). The inscriptions date from the first quarter of the 6th century and later (Jeffery, op. cit., p. 340).
2. Vases of possibly Tean origin have been found (Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*², p. 124).

It should be noted that Teos is represented in the Greek contingent at Abu Simbel (Meiggs–Lewis, *SGHI* 7 (4) (b)).

Φώκαια: Archaeology bears out H.'s statements:

1. Vase dedications were made by Phocaeans (Petrie, op. cit., I, p. 62, 666; possibly Hogarth, *JHS* 25(1905), p. 117, 39). The date is possibly the first half of the 6th century (Jeffery, op. cit., p. 341).
2. Vases of possibly Phocaean origin have been found (Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*², l.c.).

Κλαζομεναί: Evidence for Clazomenae interest in Naucratis is as follows:

1. There is a large quantity of Clazomenae Black-Figure from the site dating from the third quarter of the 6th Century B.C. (Cook, *BSA* 47(1952), p. 122 ff., particularly 128 ff.; *CVM BM* VIII, 32; Boardman, *BSA* 51(1956), p. 55 ff.; id., *The Greeks Overseas*², l.c.).
2. Edgar (*BSA* 5(1898–9), p. 55, 55a-b, pl. 4) published a fragmentary ethnic which looks like *Klazomenios*. Jeffery (op. cit., p. 340) dates tentatively c. 550 B.C.

For the influence of Clazomenae generally vide Price, *JHS* 44(1924), p. 216 ff.

Ῥόδος: The evidence is as follows:

1. There were large quantities of Rhodian pottery on the site (Petrie, op. cit., II, p. 49; Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*², p. 122). Such pottery is particularly common at Miletus and in the Milesian sphere of influence (Wiegand, *SPAW* 1905, p. 545).
2. Inscriptions have been found which appear to be Rhodian (Hogarth *et al.*, *JHS* 25(1905), p. 117, 16, from the Hellenium).

3. There is a close similarity between scarabs found on Rhodes and those discovered at Naucratis (Petrie, *op. cit.*, I, p. 37 ff.; Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, VI–VII, p. 16).

Κνίδος: Evidence of Cnidian interest in Naucratis is purely inscriptional. It consists of three dedicatory graffiti in the Cnidian script (Petrie, *op. cit.*, I, p. 62, pl. 33, 237, 239, 334; cf. Prinz, *op. cit.*, p. 83) which Jeffery dates tentatively c. 550 (*op. cit.*, p. 352).

Ἀλικαρνησός: There is nothing from the site which can be said to be specifically Halicarnassian.

Φάσηλις: There is nothing from the site which can be ascribed to this city.

ἡ Μυτιληναίων μούνη: There is clear evidence of the presence of Lesbians, in general, and Mytilenaeans, in particular at Naucratis:

1. Dedications (Petrie, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 32, 185; Gardner, *op. cit.*, II, p. 65, 786, 788–790) which Jeffery dates from c. 569 to the end of the century (*op. cit.*, p. 360).
2. *Bucchero* pottery typical of Lesbos has come to light (Boardman, *op. cit.*, p. 124).
3. The Charaxos/Rhodopis Legend also illustrates the Lesbian connection with Naucratis (H., II, 135; Str., XVII, 1, 33 (C808); Sapph., F.5. 15b (Lobel–Page)).

Τούτων μὲν ἔστι τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος: It may be true that the states just mentioned were the builders and rightful owners of the Hellenium since the excavations did not bring to light any dedications which could be assigned with confidence to members of any others. It should, however, be noted that there was nothing preventing citizens of states with rights in the Hellenium from making dedications in other *temenē* in the city.

προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου ... αἱ παρέχουσαι: The meaning of *emporion* presents difficulties. In II, 179, 1 it obviously refers to Naucratis as a whole, i.e. it means “a trading station, factory”. It is probable that the word should be so translated here. This argument is considerably strengthened by the fact that elsewhere in H. *emporion* always seems to have that meaning. Prinz’s suggestion that *emporion* means “market place” only (*op. cit.*, p. 5) and that the shrines of Apollo, Zeus and Hera had *emporia* as well as the city of Naucratis itself has nothing to recommend it. Therefore, *prostatai tou emporiou* probably means “*prostatai* of the trading post” (Roebuck, *CPh* 46(1951), p. 215). What exactly these officials were we cannot say (Introduction, p. 26 ff.). The only other sure detail we have on the constitution of Naucratis is contained in Ath. (IV, 149) where he mentions *timouchoi*. These officials were almost certainly in charge of the Hellenium for two reasons:

1. Ath.'s context suggests that they were officials concerned with religious matters as they certainly were elsewhere (cf. *IG* XII(8), 526; *SIG* 578, 60).
2. In the Hellenium at Memphis *timouchoi* appear to be in charge (Mitteis–Wilcken, op. cit., I, 2, 30, ll.15 ff.).

Marion Smith's claim that they were the supreme magistrates (op. cit., p. 150) cannot be proved or refuted.

Dittenberger (*OGI* I, p. 201), quoting an inscription published first by Petrie (op. cit., I, pl. 30, 3), argued for the existence of a Council and an Assembly at Naucratis (cf. also Mitteis–Wilcken, op. cit., I, 1, p. 51 ff.; Introduction, p. 27).

δοῖναι ... μεταποιεῦνται: This refers purely to illegitimate political claims made by the other cities.

Αἰγινήται: Aegina is the only mainland Gk. state mentioned here. Its connection with Naucratis in the Archaic Period is quite clear:

1. Aegina is the only place, apart from Chios and Naucratis, where the so-called Naucratic Ware has been unearthed (Cook–Woodhead, *BSA* 47(1952), p. 159).
2. The Fikellura vases found in Aegina may well have come from Naucratis (Cook, *BSA* 34(1933–4), pp. 85, 97).
3. Aegina has yielded Graeco-Eg. antiquities (v. Bissing, *BSAA* 39(1951), p. 46 ff.).

See further Price, *JHS* 44(1924), p. 202 ff.; v. Bissing, *Zeit und Herkunft*, p. 97 ff.

ἰδρύσαντο: Since the phrase *τεμένεα θεοῖσι* is picked up by *τὸ μὲν νυν μέγιστον* which is then answered by *χωρὶς δέ* at the end of the chapter, it is clear that H. thought that the three *temenē* and the Hellenium were all built at the same time and all dated from Amasis' reign. This belief is certainly false. The Hellenium may well have been built in the time of Amasis (vide supra) but was certainly constructed after the other *temenē*. Probably, H. has fallen into his wonted error of over-schematization. He had heard that in Amasis' reorganization of Naucratis a *temenos* called the Hellenium was founded and assumed that all the *temenē* were founded at the same time (Introduction, p. 152 ff.).

τέμενος Διός: No trace of any such edifice came to light in the excavations. There is, however, epigraphic evidence of his worship in the form of a stone bearing the inscription *ἱερὸν Διὸς Ἀποτροπαίου* found in the vicinity of the Temenos of Hera (Gardner, op. cit., II, p. 13). Since, however, the site of Naucratis has not been cleared, the *temenos* of Zeus may still await discovery.

Σάμιοι: Evidence of Samians at Naucratis is abundant:

1. Prinz (op. cit., p. 118) identified three Samians on the basis of names found on dedicated vases (Gardner, op. cit., II, p. 65, 778; p. 66, 804–5).
2. Inscriptions from the Heraeum and elsewhere (Gardner, op. cit., II, p. 67, 841–8, pl. 22; p. 65, 778, pl. 7) show Samian characteristics (Jeffery, op. cit., p. 328). This Samian material begins in the first quarter of the 6th Century.
3. The Heraeum, as one would expect, yielded cups of Samian origin (Prinz, op. cit., p. 83; Lamb, *CVA* Cambridge, fasc. II, p. 35, no. 71).
4. Fikellura Ware was found in quantity at Naucratis, examples falling in the period 560–25 B.C. Samos has yielded more of this ware than any other Ionian state; in fact, it has even been called Samian (Cook, *BSA* 34(1933–4), p. 91).
5. The voyage of Colaeus (H., IV, 152) at least illustrates Samian interest in Egypt at a comparatively early date since it took place prior to the foundation of Cyrene (c. 630 B.C.).

Ἥρης: The *temenos* of Hera, which was of considerable size, lay in the N. or Gk. section of Naucratis and was the third in a row of three, being preceded to the N. by the *temenē* of the Dioscuri and Apollo (Gardner, op. cit., II, p. 60 ff.). The enclosure was identified as that of Hera on the basis of a series of dedications in her name (Gardner, op. cit., II, p. 67, 841–8). A temple of stone had lain within the *temenos* but only the foundations on which it had once stood were still in evidence. The level at which the latter were found indicates that the date of the building was comparable to the earliest in Naucratis. For further details vide Gardner, op. cit., II, pp. 13, §8, 60 ff.; v. Bissing, *BSAA* 39(1951), p. 66 ff.

Μιλήσιοι: Confirmed by evidence from the site and elsewhere:

1. Some vases in the *temenos* of Apollo bore dedications to the *Milesian* Apollo (Petrie, op. cit., I, p. 60 ff., 2, 99, 110, 218–9, 233–4, 237, 341).
2. The tradition of Str. (vide supra) makes them founders of the city.
3. Eusebius (Helm, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, p. 88b) places the foundation of the city in the Milesian Thalassocracy and makes Milesians responsible for it.
4. A Milesian inscription of 195 A.D. boasts that the Miletus was the metropolis of cities in Egypt (*CIG* 2878, ll.1–7).
5. Suidas (*Ναύκρατις* s.v.) glosses πόλις αὐτῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑπὸ Μιλησίων οἰκισθείσα, ὁπνῆκα ἑθαλατοκράτου.
6. Scholium Geneva Codex, Theoc., XVII, 98, speaks of Milesians as the founders of Naucratis.

Ceramic evidence from Naucratis can tell us nothing of the Milesian interest in the site since there does not seem to be a specifically Milesian ware (v. Bissing, op. cit., p. 42).

Ἀπόλλωνος: This *temenos* was discovered during Petrie's excavations (op. cit., I, Ch. II & VII). The identification rests on the large number of dedicated vases bearing his name (op. cit., I, p. 60 ff.). It was probably the oldest of the N.W. group for two reasons:

1. It is connected with Miletus and Miletus was the founder of the city (vide supra).
2. It occupied the central position amongst the *temenē* and also in the N. city. This suggests that the builders were at complete liberty to choose the best site.

The temple stood more or less in the middle of the enclosure and was built partly of stone, partly of mud brick. It dates from c. 600 B.C. and was rebuilt at least once, rather later than 500 B.C. (Petrie, op. cit., I, p. 11 ff.; v. Bissing, op. cit., p. 67 ff.).

Apart from the *temenē* mentioned by H. two others came to light during excavation. To the N. of the Temple of Apollo there lay the *temenos* of the Dioscuri. It was possible to make out its outline and small portions of the temple itself were found. Dedicated pottery proved the ownership. Such evidence as exists suggests that the temple fragments found date to the mid 5th Century but there were archaic pots and earlier dedications in the area which indicate that there were earlier temples (Petrie, op. cit., I, p. 16; Gardner, op. cit., II, pp. 11, 30 ff.; v. Bissing, op. cit., p. 74 ff.). There was also a *temenos* of Aphrodite which stood in the S.W. half of Naucratis and was the best preserved of all the *temenē*. As a result, it was possible to draw up detailed plans of the successive periods of building. The high relative antiquity of the shrine is indicated by a number of factors:

1. The story of Ath. (vide supra) suggests an early date for the worship of Aphrodite at Naucratis.
2. The area in which the temple stood was one of the most populous in Naucratis. Since the original temple stood on virgin soil, it was presumably built before the people could occupy the site.

V. Bissing would date the temple to the first years of the 6th Century B.C. (Gardner, op. cit., II, p. 33 ff.; v. Bissing, op. cit., p. 64 ff.).

These two *temenē* were probably not mentioned by H. because they never had the exclusive national connections which led him to mention those of Hera, Zeus and Apollo.

179. τὸ παλαιόν: The meaning is not entirely clear. There are two alternatives: (a) The phrase could refer to the time prior to Amasis; (b) It could refer to the time before H. himself was born and, therefore, to some provision made by Amasis himself. It seems likely that (b) is the correct interpretation for two reasons:

- I. This section of Bk. II is concerned with Amasis. We are, therefore, justified in assuming that the law here mentioned derives from his reign.
- II. However much of an honour the provision may have been for Naucratis, it must have been an extremely inconvenient restriction to

Gk. commerce in Egypt generally. It was, in fact, unfavourable to the Gks. Since Amasis was brought to the throne on a wave of anti-Gk. feeling (II, 161–9) and would have been forced to follow such a policy for part of his reign at least, it seems likely that the measure was introduced by him.

μούνη Ναύκρατις ... Αἰγύπτου: Note that H. states that Naucratis was the only *trading-station* in Egypt. This does not mean that there were no Gks. elsewhere (Introduction, p. 29).

εἰ δέ τις ... ἐς τὸ Κανωβικόν: Rigid military control of incoming shipping was in operation at the mouths of the Nile as early as the N.K. (de Rougé, *Insc. Hiéroglyphiques*, 23 ff., l. 14; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 1292 ff., l. 14; Schiff, *Festschrift für O. Hirschfeld*, p. 30; Kees, *Ägypten*, pp. 110, 230; id., *RE* XVI, 2, 1959). This passage is the only source for Amasis' regulations concerning Naucratis. However, a parallel to its status as a restricted trading-post is found in the position of *'Ikn* (mod. Mirgissa) in Lower Nubia during the XIIth Dyn. (Introduction, p. 27 ff.). The advantages of the measure to Amasis are clear:

- I. It got the Gks. out of the E. Delta. Kees (op. cit., 1960) suggests that Tanis had enjoyed lucrative trade relations with the E. and was threatened by their presence in that area.
- II. It made the levying of import dues much easier (Prinz, op. cit., p. 109; Kees, op. cit., p. 106).
- III. It satisfied anti-Gk. feeling (Schiff, op. cit., p. 380, 1; Prinz, op. cit., p. 109 ff.).

It is possible that we have one other piece of information on the regulations of Amasis. In the time of Nectanebo I Naucratis paid to the crown $\frac{1}{10}$ th of its annual product as taxes (Introduction, p. 28; see also now Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III, *The Late Period*, p. 86 ff.). Kees believed, very plausibly, that this tax was instituted as part of the measures of Amasis (op. cit., 1960).

πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίους: The Etesian Winds (n. II, 20). Since these blow from the N., ships needing to move along the coast of the Delta would have had to sail into and across the wind—a feat which Gk. merchant ships would have been unable to accomplish with any ease, if at all, before the 4th Century B.C. (Morrison-Williams, *Greek Oared Ships*, p. 312 ff.; Casson, *Ships and Seamanship*, p. 273 ff.).

τὰ φορτία ... τὸ Δέλτα: The transference of the cargo was essential. The Delta waterways were swampy and shallow so that only boats of shallow draught like the Eg. *baris* could navigate on them safely (Str., XVII, 1, 18(C801)).

οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ναύκρατις ἐτετίμητο: A misunderstanding related to that at the beginning of the preceding chapter (q.v.). The monopoly was certainly not intended to *honour* Naucratis.

Bibliography (Naucratis in general): Petrie, *Naukratis*, I; Hirschfeld, *RhM* 42(1887), p. 209 ff.; Gardner, *Naukratis*, II; Hirschfeld, *RhM* 44(1889), p. 461 ff.; Mallet, *Les Premiers Etablissements*, p. 145 ff.; Hogarth *et al.*, *BSA* 5(1898–9), p. 26 ff.; Hogarth *et al.*, *JHS* 25(1905), p. 105 ff.; v. Prinz, *Klio Beiheft* 7(1908), p. 99 ff.; Edgar, *ASAE* 22(1922), p. 1 ff.; Price *JHS* 44(1924), p. 180 ff.; *PM* IV, p. 50 ff.; Marion Smith, *JSOR* 10(1926), p. 119 ff.; Beazley–Payne, *JHS* 49(1929), p. 253 ff.; Gjerstad, *LAAA* 21(1934), p. 67 ff.; Gauthier, *MIE* 25(1935), Index, s.v.; Kees, *RE* XVI, 2, 1954 ff.; Cook, *JHS* 57(1937), p. 227 ff.; Grafton–Milne, *JEA* 25(1939), p. 177 ff.; Lutz, *Univ. Cal. Pub. Sem. Phil.* 10(1943), p. 275 ff.; Gunn, *JEA* 29(1943), p. 55 ff.; v. Bissing, *FuF* 25(1949), p. 1 ff.; Roebuck, *CPh* 45(1950), p. 236 ff.; v. Bissing, *BSAA* 39(1951), p. 33 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 100 ff.; Cook, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Brit. Mus., VIII*; Boardman, *BSA* 51(1956), p. 55 ff.; Gjerstad, *Acta Arch.* 30(1959), p. 159 ff.; Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, Index, s.v.; Jeffery, *The Local Scripts*, Index, s.v.; Drioton–Vandier, *L’Egypte**, Index, s.v.; Graham, *Colony and Mother-City*, pp. 4 ff., 104; Vycichl, *ZÄS* 95(1969), p. 138; Austin, *Proc. Cam. Phil. Soc. Supp.* 2(1970), p. 22 ff.; Bernard, *Le Delta Egyptien*, I, p. 575 ff.; Ebert, *ZPE* 16(1975), p. 234; Daumas, *Mélanges Ecole Française Rome* 89(1977), p. 425 ff.; Shenouda, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, p. 609 ff.; Jeffery, *Archaic Greece*, Index, s.v.; Coulsen–Leonard, *ARCE Newsletter* 103(1977–8), p. 13 ff.; Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience*, Index, s.v. Naucratis; Coulsen *et al.*, *J. Field Archaeology* 6(2)(1979), p. 151 ff.; Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*², Index, s.v. Naucratis; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III, *The Late Period*, p. 86 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, IV, 360 ff.; Braun, *CAH*³ III, 3, pp. 32–53; Yoyotte, *RdE* 34(1982–3), p. 129 ff.

180. Ἀμφικτιόνων ... μνέας: Amasis and Delphi, another shrewdly calculated piece of philhellenism! This notice is one of many references in H. to the history and antiquities of the Delphic shrine on which he was extremely well informed (cf. Parke–Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, I–II).

Ἀμφικτιόνων ... κατεκρή: Cf. H., I, 50, 3; V, 62; Pi., *P* VII, 8; Ps. Arist., *Ath* 19, 14; Philoch., *FgrH* 328, F.115; Str., IX, 3, 9(C421); Paus., X, 5, 13; Them., *Or* IV, 53a; Schol. in D., XXI, 144(561). This disaster took place in 548/7 B.C. (Paus., X, 5, 13; Eusebius, Helm, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, 103b). H.’s account of the rebuilding concentrates on two aspects: the preliminary stages and the rôle of the Alcmeonidae. The first steps consisted of a decision that the temple should cost 300 talents; the assignment of responsibility for meeting this cost on the basis that the Delphians should provide 75 talents and the Amphictyons 225; the decision that the material should be *pōros*-limestone; and the planning of the structure itself. Once sufficient money had been collected to make a start, the work would have been put out to tender (*μισθωσάντων*) in contracts which were probably in most cases very small. There can be no question of one huge contract of 300 talents; this figure simply indicates the total projected cost. It seems likely that work began c. 530 B.C. As for the Alcmeonids, the evidence is far from perspicuous but their participation probably dated to c. 513 and was apparently confined to putting the finishing touches to the shrine, particularly the decoration. The 6th Century temple was accidentally destroyed a

little before 371 B.C. and rebuilt on much the same basis as that described here.

Bibliography: Pomtow, *RhM* N.F. 51(1896), p. 329 ff.; Homolle, *BCH* 26(1902), p. 587 ff.; Courby, *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, *Topographie et Architecture. La Terrasse du Temple*, p. 92 ff.; Parke-Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, I, pp. 143 ff., 241; Jacoby, *FgrH* 328, F.115 (Text); Burford, *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros*.

Ἀμφικτυόνων: From the First Sacred War (600–590 B.C.) the military and political protection of Delphi, the administration of its property and the organization of the Pythian Games lay in the hands of the Delphic or Pylaeon Amphictyony consisting of twelve tribal groups (*ethnē*): the Thes-salians, Perrhaebians, Magnetes, Achaeans of Phthiotis, Dolopians, Malians, Oeteans (Aenianeans), Dorians, Locrians, Boeotians, Ionians and Phocians, each of whom sent two representatives twice a year to Delphi to discharge these duties. Care of the sacred buildings played a regular part in their concerns.

Bibliography: Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*, II, p. 1292 ff.; Parke-Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, I, p. 100 ff.; Ehrenberg, *The Greek State*², p. 108 ff.; Kirsten-Kraiker, *Griechenland-kunde*⁵, p. 248 ff.

τριηκοσίων ταλάντων: In the 5th Century the Parthenon seems to have cost 460–500 talents and the Propylaea c. 200 talents. In the following century the temple complex at Epidauros was built for 240–90 talents (Burford, *op. cit.*, p. 83). H.'s figure, therefore, inspires confidence.

ἐξεργάσασθαι: Cf. n. II, 176, 2, *ἐξοικοδομήσας*.

αὐτόματος: The scholiast to Pi., *P* VII, 1, makes the Peisistratids responsible for the conflagration and we need not doubt that the fire was the subject of much rumour, scandal and difference of opinion. H.'s dogmatic statement clearly reflects the conviction that he has got to the bottom of the matter, probably with the aid of Delphic sources (cf. Jacoby, *FgrH* 328, F.115 (Text)).

τοὺς Δελφοὺς δὴ ἐπέβαλλε ... ἡνείκαντο: The Delphians were required to find 75 talents, the Amphictyonic states 225 between them. 75 talents was well beyond the resources of the Delphians and they were forced to obtain assistance by sending embassies to likely looking sources of finance, an activity which was certain to be productive since panhellenic shrines could always rely on international co-operation in the form of state or private donations (Burford, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 ff., 81). Pomtow argued that the *poleis* visited were mainly the Gk. states of the Peloponnese, the islands and Asia Minor (*RhM* N.F. 51(1896), p. 334 ff.). The date of the Delphian trip to Egypt is uncertain, but it cannot be later than 526, the year of Amasis' death.

***Άμασις ... τάλαντα:** *stypṭēriē*, Eg. *ibnw*, was probably alum (Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*, p. 185). Alum deposits are found in the Dakhla and Kharga Oases where it was undoubtedly mined by the Egs. who used it for tawing leather, dyeing and for medicinal purposes (Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, III, p. 182 ff.; Lucas-Harris, *AEMI*⁴ p. 257 ff.). Pace Lucas-Harris, it should be noted that H. is referring to the *weight*, not the *value* of this substance. If we assume that he was using the Attic talent of 26.196 kg. (on which vide *Artemis Lexikon*, 3424), Amasis' contribution would amount to 26.196 metric tons. This is equivalent to more than half the total yield of 44 tons which was sent annually from the Oases to Cairo in Mediaeval times (Lucas-Harris, l.c.). The Delphians would have sold it and used the proceeds on the temple. Its market value is unknown but, since Eg. alum was considered by Plin. (*HN* XXXV, 52) to be the best, we can be confident that it realized an unusually high price.

οἱ δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ... εἴκοσι μνέας: If we convert using the Attic mina of 436.6 g. (*Artemis Lexikon*, l.c.), 20 minae equals 8.732 kilos, an astonishingly low contribution from what must have been a large and prosperous population. Pomtow suggested that H. may have been misled by a damaged inscription (op. cit., p. 333, n. 1). Certainly, the quantity would be more comprehensible as the contribution of an individual or as part of a total contribution which included many other items.

181-2, 1. Κυρηναίοισι ... ἐς Κυρήνην: Amasis and Cyrene.

181. Κυρηναίοισι ... συνεθήκατο: The expansion of Cyrene during the 6th Century posed a potential threat to Egypt's W. frontier. Apries tried to solve this problem by military means and failed disastrously (n. II, 161, 4). Amasis adopted diplomatic methods and had concluded an alliance with the Cyreneans at least as early as 567 when they served with him during the invasion of Egypt by the Babylonians (Edel, *GM* 29(1978), p. 14 ff.). This alliance lasted until the Persian conquest and formed part of the elaborate network of diplomatic links forged by Amasis to buttress his power, particularly against the threat of foreign attack (nn. II, 1; 182).

ἐδικαίωσε ... φιλότιτος Κυρηναίων εἶνεκα: Seen within the context of Amasis' international political strategy, it becomes clear that this action was inspired by the second motive. The use of marriage alliances was as common a tool in Eg. diplomacy as it has been amongst other nations.

γαμέει δὲ ὦν ... Λαδίκη: On H.'s use of alternate versions vide n. II, 2, 5. The diplomatic background makes the first version much more probable than the second (vide supra). Ladike is not mentioned elsewhere in any source, Eg. or Gk., but other wives of Amasis are known, e.g. Tanetkheta,

mother of Psammetichus III, and Nakhtbastetru, mother of the general Amasis (de Meulenaere, *JEA* 54(1968), p. 184; Vittmann, *Orientalia* 44(1975), p. 380 ff.).

Βάττου τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω: The Battus in question is Battus II (c. 590–c. 560). Arcesilaus was the first Cyrenean king of that name and ruled c. 606–c. 590.

τῇ ἐπεῖτε συγκλίνουτο ὁ Ἄμασις ... τοῦ Κυρηναίων ἄστεος: Several elements seem to have contributed to this tradition:

1. Ladike had married Amasis.
2. There existed in Cyrene a statue dedicated to Aphrodite which was actually or allegedly a gift of Ladike, i.e. the tale is a *Monument-nouvelle* (on which vide Spiegelberg, *Die Glaubwürdigkeit*, p. 25 ff.).
3. Popular tales frequently contain sex motifs (Thompson, *Motif-Index*, T) many of which are concerned with the consummation of marriage (T160) and the fear that it is likely to cause danger from magic or other sources (T171–3, 175, 182).
4. The intransigence of Amasis to Ladike's pleas presents him in an unfavourable light which probably owes something to the anti-Amasis tradition that was certainly current in some quarters (II, 172, 2).

ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη ... ἐς Κυρήνην: At 181, 5, H. states that the statue was actually sent and stood in his time “outside the city of the Cyreneans”. The cult of Aphrodite was closely associated with that of Apollo at Cyrene and was popular throughout Cyrenaica. The location of her shrine within Cyrene itself is disputed. Chamoux believed that it was the small temple on the E. side of the city E. of the Strategeion (*Cyrène sous la Monarchie des Battiaades*, p. 267 ff.). Smith and Porcher, on the other hand, identified it with a small temple in the upper area of the city, S. of the Odeion, where a large number of statues of Aphrodite has been found (*History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene*, p. 102 ff.; Rowe, *New Light on Aegypto-Cyrenaean Relations* (ASAE Cahier 12), p. 21). Pindar mentions a grove of Aphrodite which might well have been the site on which the statue was erected (*P* V, 3).

τὸ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν σόον: Chamoux takes this to mean that H. had actually seen it (op. cit., p. 150) but the wording of the clause does not justify that conclusion. Since there is no incontrovertible evidence that H. ever visited Cyrene, his presence there must remain an open question (with Powell, *The History of Herodotus*, p. 27; Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*², II, p. 535, n. 2; Legrand, *Hérodote. Introduction*, p. 24 ff.; against Jacoby, *RE* SB II, 252 ff.; Chamoux, op. cit., p. 153 ff.).

ταύτην τὴν Λαδίκην ... ἐς Κυρήνην: Since D.S. claims that Cyreneans and Libyans had supported the Egs. against Cambyzes (X, F.15), we can be

confident that the old alliance between Egypt and Cyrene, which had existed at the beginning of Amasis' reign, was still operative in 525. The defeat of Egypt in that year brought about an abrupt volte-face and we find Cyreneans paying homage to the Great King (H., III, 13). The King of Cyrene, Arcesilaus (c. 530-10), must have been a relative of Ladike if, as is well-nigh certain, Ladike was the daughter of Battus II (vide supra). Cambyses was, therefore, shrewdly exploiting a golden opportunity to set the seal on his diplomatic relations with Cyrene by a well-calculated act of generosity to the royal family. Conciliation was probably much more typical of Cambyses' political strategy than the black and highly suspect picture painted of his Eg. activities in Classical sources would lead us to believe. This tradition probably has its origin in priestly propaganda inspired by Cambyses' inroads into the revenues of certain Eg. temples (Lloyd, *JEA* 68(1982), p. 173) and is singularly at variance with the policy of forbearance and circumspection illustrated by the inscription of Udja-ḥorresnet and the texts relating to the Apis bull burial of 524 (Lloyd, op. cit., passim). Even in H.'s bleak account of his reign in Book III there are indications of his pliability: at III, 13, Cambyses wisely accepts the peace overtures of the Libyans, Barcans and Cyreneans—H.'s harsh comment on his treatment of the Cyrenean tribute may be no more than his personal evaluation of what was in reality a piece of generosity to the army; the sister marriage of III, 31, could have been intended to satisfy Eg. susceptibilities; Cambyses' reaction to the Phoenician refusal to attack Carthage (III, 19) also shows a political desire to maintain good will.

182. 'Ανέθηκε ... Ἐς Ἀμασις: On the grand strategy motivating this generosity vide n. II, 1 (The low date for the alliance with Cyrene now needs revision: vide n. II, 181, 1). Amasis had at least one Saite precedent in Necho's dedication at Branchidae (n. II, 159, 3).

Ἐς Κυρήνην ... Ἀθηναίης: For Amasis and Cyrene vide n. II, 181, 1. Literary references to a Cyrenean cult of Athene are rare (cf. Pi., *P* IX, 97) but there is substantial archaeological evidence (Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la Monarchie des Battiades*, p. 270). Amasis' dedication was doubtless motivated by the Gk. identification of Athene and Neith, the major goddess of the city of Sais from which the XXVIth Dyn. originated (n. II, 28, 1). Vitali thought that the statue was Eg. in character and represented Neith (*Fonti per la Storia della Religione Cyrenaica*, p. 96 ff.); Chamoux suggested that it was Gk. in style and commissioned from a Gk. workshop (op. cit., p. 270, n. 2). Vitali's opinion is preferable for two reasons:

1. During the Archaic Period there was a wide-spread taste in the Gk. world for oriental artifacts (vide infra) and this we should expect the Egs. to have known.
2. The breastplates sent to Lindus and Sparta were clearly Eg. in character (vide infra).

εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ γραφῇ εἰκασμένην: Chamoux comments: “La mention d’un portrait ressemblant est importante pour l’histoire de l’art: elle montre que la notion de ressemblance physique, familière aux Egyptiens, n’était pas inconcevable pour un Grec de V^{es}.” (op. cit., p. 150, n. 3). What was the precise character of this object? *Eikōn* may mean “statue” or “picture” (*LSJ* p. 485, b, I, 1) and it is certainly used of statues *infra*. However, if it meant “statue” here, much of the point of *γραφῇ εἰκασμένην* would surely be lost. The phrase, therefore, probably means “painted portrait”. The mention of such an object is startling since nothing of the kind has survived from the Pharaonic Period. Paintings of kings occur as a part of something else, e.g. on boxes or temple walls, and an example from the reign of Amasis is known (James, *JEA* 68(1982), p. 156 ff.) but they are never individual items intended to function in their own right. Nevertheless, scepticism is not in order: the chances of the survival of such works are not high and, in any case, it may have been a once-off product made for this specific purpose under Gk. influence.

τῇ ἐν Λίνδῳ ᾿Αθηναίῃ ... ἀξιοθέητον: For the possible political implications of these gifts *vide infra*. According to the Lindian Chronicle he also dedicated ten bowls (*phialai*) (Blinkenberg, *Die lindische Tempelchronik*, p. 25 ~ id., *Lindos*, II, 1, 173, XXIX).

τῇ ἐν Λίνδῳ ᾿Αθηναίῃ: Until the foundation of the city of Rhodes in 408/7 the three main Rhodian cities were Lindus, Ialysus and Cameirus. Of these Lindus was the most powerful in Amasis’ time, controlling over half of the entire island. The internationally renowned temple of Athene Lindia stood on the city’s acropolis. The earliest known structure was of 9th Century date but this was burnt down in the 6th Century and a new building constructed between 550 and 525 by the tyrant Cleobulus. This lasted until the middle of the 4th Century. It seems likely that Amasis’ dedications were sent as a contribution to this project, just as the dedications at Samos probably reflect Polycrates’ rebuilding of the temple of Hera (*vide infra*), but in the present state of the evidence certainty is impossible.

Bibliography: Blinkenberg, *Die lindische Tempelchronik*, p. 25; v. Gaertringen, *RE* SB V, 731 ff.; Blinkenberg-Kinch, *Lindos*, I, *Les Petits Objets*, Texte; Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, II, *Inscriptions*, I; Dyggve, *Lindos*, III, *Le Sanctuaire d’Athana Lindai et l’Architecture Lindienne*; Kondis, *Gnomon* 35(1963), p. 392 ff.; Meyer, *KP*, III, 670; Wycherley, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, p. 755 ff.; Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*², pp. 112 ff., 127, 135, 142.

ἀγάλματα λίθινα: As in the case of Cyrene, the statues presumably represented Neith (*vide supra*). They are also mentioned in the Lindian Chronicle where it is claimed that they were of gold and each bore a two-line inscription, one in Gk. reading *Αἰγυπτου βασιλ[ευ]σ τηλεκλυτος ωπασ Αμασις* and the other in Hieroglyphs (Blinkenberg, *Die lindische Tempelchronik*, p. 25 ~ id., *Lindos*, II, 1, 173, XXIX). Blinkenberg is rightly

sceptical of the claim that they were of gold, arguing that it is the result of contamination from the tradition that Amasis sent a gilded statue to Cyrene (*Die lindische Tempelchronik*, l.c.).

θώρακα λίνεον ἀξιοθέητον: Cf. II, 159, 3; III, 47, 3; the Lindian Chronicle, Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, II, 173, XXIX; Plin., *HN* XIX, 2, 12; Ael., *NA* IX, 17; in view of Athene's warlike nature an apt dedication. Linen corslets would not have been as strange to H. as to us since they are mentioned as Achaean equipment in Hom. (*II* II, 529). At III, 47, 3, we are informed that Amasis dispatched another to Sparta, only to have it purloined by the Samians. Portions of the Lindian example survived down to Roman times (Plin., l.c.). The Lindian and Samian corslets were richly embroidered with figures and decorated with gold and "tree-wool" (either silk or cotton, Picard, *Hommages à Waldemar Deonna. Collection Latomus* 28(1957), p. 363 ff.). They were of extremely fine workmanship, being made up of 360 threads, all of which were visible (Plin., l.c., says 365), and were probably manufactured by the "tablet-weaving" process (Picard, op. cit., p. 364). No breast-plate of this type seems to have survived but a painting on the rear wall of Side Room M in the tomb of Ramesses III apparantly represents one. It takes the form of an armless coat, fringed at the bottom and richly decorated with a neat chevron border dividing the top up into four squares in each of which an animal is depicted against a red or blue background, two griffins above, two lions below (*PM* I², 2, p. 522; Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres*, p. 98). Linen breastplates of a less ornate nature occur in Egypt from an early period (Bonnet, *Die äg. Tracht (Untersuchungen* 7), p. 50) but by the XXVIth Dyn. the Egs had much sturdier types of body armour available (n. II, 152, 3). This and the fineness of the piece suggest that H.'s corslets were never used on active service but were designed for ceremonial purposes or even simply as dedications.

ἐς Σάμον τῇ Ἥρῃ: Samos, on whose history and monuments H. was extremely well informed (Jacoby, *RE* SB II, 216 ff, 428 ff.; Mitchell, *JHS* 95(1975), p. 75), was the next major island entrepôt for oriental goods W. of Rhodes with which it maintained close cultural links during the Archaic Period. Under the tyrant Polycrates it was by far the most important naval power in the Aegean (H., III, 39). The temple of Hera was its major shrine, regarded by H. as one of the three greatest public works in the whole of Greece (III, 60). It was begun by Polycrates to replace the temple of Rhoecus, which had burnt down, and measured 52.4 × 108.7 m. (171.9 × 356.7 ft.). It was never completed but by Polycrates' death we can be confident that the cella and pronaos were finished and already in use. There is no doubt that Amasis' dedications were intended for this building.

Bibliography: Buschor, *Heraion von Samos. Frühe Bauten*; Reuther, *Der Heratempel von Samos*; Schmidt, *Kyprische Bildwerke aus dem Heraion von Samos (Samos VII)*, pp. 113, 116,

119; Jantzen, *Äg. und orientalische Bronzen aus dem Heraion von Samos* (Samos VIII); Walther, *Das Heraion von Samos*; Borrelli, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, p. 802 ff.; Tölle-Kastenbein, *Herodot und Samos*.

εἰκόνας ἐωυτοῦ ... ξυλίνας: Stone statues of Eg. kings are plentiful but relatively few in wood have survived (Vandier, *Manuel*, III, p. 552 ff.). They range from life-size (2 m., Ramesside statue of an unknown king, op. cit., pp. 405, 409, 420; 1.95 m., Seti I, op. cit., pp. 409, 413, 420; 1.75 m., King Ḥor, op. cit., pp. 86, 215, 248, pl. LXXI, 5) to minute (0.25 m., Akhnaten, op. cit., pp. 327, 336, 339, 348, 350, pl. CX, 3; 0.06m., Amenḥotpe III, op. cit., pp. 322, 324, 327, 383, pl. CV, 4), though most are small. However, the large number of examples found in the tomb of Tutankhamūn proves that the dearth has been caused in the main by the accidents of preservation. The standard of workmanship is usually very high, the statue of King Ḥor of the early Second Intermediate Period being one of the finest works ever produced by an Eg. sculptor.

αἱ ἐν τῷ νηῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ ... ὀπισθε τῶν θυρέων: i.e. they stood on the east side of the cella. The detailed information is of a piece with H.'s excellent knowledge of Samos (vide supra).

ἐς μὲν νυν Σάμον ... Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Αἰάκεος: According to Eusebius, Polycrates became tyrant of Samos in the 4th year of the 61st Olympiad, i.e. 533–2 B.C. (Helm, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, p. 104, b, supported by Th., I, 13, 6). To judge from H., III, 120, he died in, or soon after, 522 B.C. Since Amasis died in 526, the alliance must be dated between 533–2 and 526. We hear further details of it in III, 39–43, but the story is permeated with Gk. moral concepts and folk-lore and we learn little more than that the alliance came into existence, functioned and was eventually terminated by Amasis. Subsequently Polycrates supported Cambyses in his attack on Egypt (III, 44). H. shows no interest in, or awareness of, the strategic motivation of either but there is no doubt that, as in his relations with Rhodes and Cyprus, Amasis was concerned to achieve two main aims: first, Samos was an important element in a second line of defence against the Persian threat thrown up, in part, at least, after the collapse of the alliance with Sparta, Lydia and Babylon between 546 and 538; secondly, the Samian alliance strengthened his hold on lines of communication between Egypt and the Gk. world. Polycrates' motive was equally anti-Persian since the Persian occupation of Ionia in the 540s posed a direct threat to his own security. Why did the alliance end? If we accept that H. is correct in attributing its termination to Amasis, the obvious assumption is that Amasis had come to the conclusion that the indiscriminate and impolitic behaviour of Polycrates (cf. III, 39, 3) might well embroil Egypt in precipitate and unnecessary conflict with the Persians. Mitchell, on the other hand, discounts H.'s tradition and attributes the break to Polycrates' realization that the Persians

were a better horse to back (op. cit., p. 79). Both views seem plausible but the inadequacy of the evidence makes a decision between them quite impossible.

Bibliography: In addition to that quoted for II, 1 see White, *JHS* 74(1954), p. 36 ff.; Barron, *CQ* N.S. 14(1964), p. 210 ff.; Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants*, p. 117 ff.; Mitchell, *JHS* 95(1975), p. 75 ff.; Jeffery, *Archaic Greece*, p. 214 ff.; La Bua, *MGR* 6(1978), p. 1 ff.

ἐς δὲ Λίνδον ... τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας: Surely a defective analysis:

1. In the 6th Century Lindus was the most powerful city in Rhodes (vide supra).
2. Since Lindus was the only major settlement on the E. coast of Rhodes and also possessed the finest anchorage facilities on the island, it enjoyed particularly close relations with Cyprus, the Levant and Egypt and was a major entrepôt on the extremely lucrative maritime trade-route linking Greece with the Orient via the S. coast of Asia Minor (n. II, 178, 2; v. Gaertringen, *RE* SB V, 746 ff.; Schmidt, *Samos*, VII, p. 113 ff.; Dyggve, *Lindos*, III, p. 45; Wycherley, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, p. 755 ff.; Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*², pp. 112 ff., 127).
3. The temple of Athene Lindia was well known throughout the Hellenic world and dedications there could not fail to promote good will amongst Gk. states which were of military and economic importance to Egypt.
4. Rhodes lies between Samos and Cyprus with which Amasis' links are known to have been strong (vide supra et infra).

These factors generate the unshakeable conviction that Amasis' relations with Lindus were inspired by the same strategic and economic considerations as those with Samos and Cyprus. Indeed, *pace* H., it seems likely, though undemonstrable, that he even had an alliance with the tyrant Cleobulus of Lindus which was comparable to that with Polycrates (vide supra). At the same time, it would be a mistake to dismiss the connection with the Danaids. It is perfectly possible that their legend was known to the Egs. and that Amasis specifically related his dedications to them in order to provide an ancient pedigree, or even sanction, for the affiliations which he was so anxious to establish with the Gk. world.

οἳτι δὲ τὸ ἱπὸν τὸ ἐν Λίνῳ ... παῖδας: On the origins of this legend vide Introduction, p. 123 ff. Their connection with Athene Lindia probably arose through the interaction of several factors: the identification of Athene with Neith (vide supra); the position of Rhodes, particularly Lindus, on the sea-route from Egypt to Greece (vide supra); and the peculiarly archaic character of the cult of Athene Lindia itself. In fact, she was originally a pre-Gk. goddess whose cult-object was an aniconic wooden post and who only received fireless sacrifices (Blinkenberg-Kinch, op. cit., p. 9 ff.; Dyggve,

op. cit., p. 112 ff.; the rôle of such outlandish features in determining H.'s attitude to the origins of cults is of great importance but they normally suggested to him a Pelasgian origin (vide nn. II, 50)).

εἶλε δὲ Κύπρον ... ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν: There is abundant archaeological evidence both in Egypt and Cyprus of close relations between the two areas during the Saite Period (Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, I, p. 95 ff.; Vermeule, *AJA* 78(1974), p. 287 ff.; Davis, *GM* 35(1979), p. 13 ff.; id., *GM* 41(1980), p. 7 ff.; Boardman, op. cit., pp. 74, 112, 120, 124, 127, 139, 141, 234). The history of political relations is a different matter. According to D.S., Amasis' predecessor Apries had defeated Cyprus at sea before undertaking his Libyan campaign, whilst Edel's interpretation of ll.3 and 13 of the Amasis Stele suggests that Apries called on Cypriot military resources in 570 (n. II, 161, 2; Edel, *GM* 29(1978), p. 19). Unfortunately, it is quite unclear whether this situation reflects military domination or simply an alliance. After the defeat of Apries in 570 Amasis seems to have blockaded the entire island (Edel, l.c.). If so, his conquest of Cyprus may belong to the very beginning of his reign but this is clearly not a necessary assumption. Hall argued that the date should be early, c. 560, on the grounds that the strong Saite influence on Cypriot art presupposes a long Eg. occupation (*CAH* III, 306). The argument is, however, fallacious since strong cultural influence cannot be held to "presuppose" foreign occupation. Whatever the date, the strategic and economic advantages of occupying the island were considerable, advantages indeed that were, in some cases, recognized by the Egs. at least as early as the N.K. (Muhly, *Praktika tou Prōtou Diethnous Kyprologikou Synedriou*, I, pp. 208 ff., 214 ff.; Georgiou, *Levant* 11(1979), pp. 84 ff., 98 ff.): Cyprus controlled the maritime lines of communication between Egypt and Greece; it provided a base for attacking hostile forces in Asia Minor as well as in Syria; it had rich metal resources and also timber suitable for shipbuilding which Egypt's navy badly needed; possession of the island would delay any Near Eastern attack on Egypt because it would have to be captured or neutralized before any large-scale movement by land or sea could safely be mounted; finally, control of Cyprus meant control of substantial military and naval forces. All of this makes Amasis' conquest an entirely credible component of what seems to have been a grand strategy of defending Egypt's interests, military and economic, by dominating the waters of the E. Mediterranean (n. II, 1). How long did his rule there last? Hill believed that it was over by 538 (op. cit., p. 111) but the only evidence derives from Xenophon's novelistic *Cyropedia* (VII, 4, 1; VIII, 6, 8) whose purchase on historical reality is too precarious to justify such an interpretation (Bizos comments of the work: "Une chose n'est pas douteuse, c'est qu'il n'y a pas fait oeuvre d'historien ... Les faits sont très mal connus", *Xenophon. Cyropédie*, I, p. VI). The most we can say is that Cyprus was under Persian suzerainty by 525 (H., III, 19, 3).

πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων: Incorrect. It was certainly held by the Hittites for a time (Muhly, *op. cit.*, p. 218; Georgiou, *op. cit.*, p. 87 ff.); the Phoenicians occupied some of it in the early 1st Millennium B.C. (Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 98 ff.); the precise extent of Assyrian domination in any one reign is impossible to establish but it was probably at times extensive: Sargon II (724–05 B.C.) held part, as did Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.), and Esarhaddon (681–69 B.C.) most, if not all, of it (*op. cit.*, p. 104 ff.). It is not surprising that H. knows nothing of the Hittite conquest but his total ignorance of Assyrian activities on the island casts a baleful light on the deficiencies of Gk. historical tradition.

APPENDIX

The Chronology of Egyptian and Near Eastern History During the Saite Period

THE chronology of this period has caused considerable difficulty and the reader will find disconcerting discrepancies even in the standard literature. It is crucially important to remember that, although all the relevant ancient oriental sources, whatever their language, date by a system of regnal years, there were basic differences of application from one civilization to another:

1. *Regnal Years and Accession Years.* The Egs. used a non-Accession Year system whereas the Babylonians always, and the Hebrews normally, employed an Accession-Year scheme, i.e. if a king came to the throne in the 11th month of Regnal Year x , the Egyptians could count that as his Regnal Year 1 so that the Accession Year and Regnal Year 1 coincide; the Babylonians always regarded such an incomplete year as the Accession Year and considered that Regnal Year 1 began on the first day of the following calendar year, i.e. the Accession Year and Regnal Year 1 are different; the Hebrews generally followed the Babylonian practice but *II Kings* and derivatives can be anomalous in that they also show clear traces of a non-Accession scheme of the Eg. type. All systems, however, were agreed that the period of a king's reign after the penultimate year, however short, should be regarded as a complete year.

2. *Civil and Calendar Years.* The Eg. Regnal Year was a civil year which rotated through the astronomical year (vide n. II, 4); the Babylonian Regnal Year was based on an astronomical year which began in the spring and always started with day 1 of Nisan, the first month of the canonical sequence of months. For the conversion of such dates the tables in Parker–Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.–A.D. 75*, p. 26 ff., are indispensable; the Hebrew Regnal Year was based on the Babylonian calendar from at least c. 605. In Judah it seems that, until c. 605, regnal years were dated from day 1 of the 7th month in canonical sequence (i.e. 1 Tishri), but, in all probability, after c. 605 Regnal Years were usually dated from Nisan 1. However, the older system seems to have continued in use alongside it for some time since Old Testament dates for the fall of Jerusalem at the end of Zedekiah's reign are difficult to reconcile without invoking it. It should be remembered that, when this older system was employed, the numbering of the months within the regnal year followed the canonical numbering, e.g. although Tishri is logically the first month of the Regnal Year, it is numbered as month 7 because that is its position in the fixed sequence of months within the astronomical year. Again the tables of Parker and Dubberstein, op. cit., should be used for conversion purposes.

The application of these principles may be illustrated by the following examples:

1. According to *Jeremiah* (52, 28) Zedekiah was appointed king of Judah in Regnal Year 7 of Nebuchadrezzar II; according to *II Kings*, 24, 12, the date was Regnal Year 8. Since the first source is evidently using the Babylonian Accession-Year system and the second a non-Accession-Year scheme, there is no contradiction and we arrive at a date 27th March 598–12th April 597. Zedekiah's Regnal Year 1 will then have been dated from Tishri 1 within this period, i.e. 20th October 598 (Parker–Dubberstein, op. cit., p. 27).
2. The date of the fall of Jerusalem and the consequent deposition of Zedekiah can be calculated in a similar way. According to *II Kings*, 25, 3 the date was the ninth day of the 4th month of Regnal Year 11 of Zedekiah; Regnal Year 11 = (Tishri) 598–(Tishri) 597 minus 10 = (Tishri) 588–(Tishri) 587; month 4 within this period would be the month of Tammuz which, in 587, ran from 21st July to 18th August. Therefore, resistance collapsed on 29th July 587. According to *Jeremiah* (52, 29) the collapse took place in Regnal Year 18 of Nebuchadrezzar; according to *Jeremiah* (52, 12) and *II Kings*, 25, 8, the date was Regnal Year 19. Yet again the discrepancy can be explained as the product of two different systems of year-counting, the former being the date by the Babylonian system, the latter by a scheme comparable to that of the Egyptians (vide supra). We then get a date 587/6 for the relevant year of Nebuchadrezzar and, *ipso facto*, the fall of Jerusalem and that agrees perfectly with the previous dating by Regnal Year 11 of Zedekiah. (Conversions of years etc. are based throughout on Parker and Dubberstein, op. cit., p. 28).

Bibliography: In general Bickerman, *Chronology of the Ancient World*, pp. 66, 80 ff. Specific systems: Eg., Gardiner, *JEA* 31(1945), p. 17 ff.; de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, p. 15 ff.; Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies*, p. 98 ff.; Introduction, p. 190 ff.; Babylonian, Parker–Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.–A.D. 75*, p. 26 ff.; Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology*, p. 87 ff.; Hebrew, Finegan, op. cit., pp. 33 ff., 193 ff.

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